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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE
PROVINCE OF QUEBEC AND THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

1953 - 1963

by

DENIS C. O'DRISCOLL

A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a description and comparison of secondary education in the Province of Quebec and the Republic of Ireland from 1953 to 1963. Developments in organization, pedagogy, curriculum,

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "A Comparative Study of Secondary Education in the Province of Quebec and the Republic of Ireland, 1953-1963", submitted by Denis C. O'Driscoll in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a description and comparison of secondary education in the Province of Quebec and the Republic of Ireland from 1953 to 1963. Developments in organization, administration, curriculum, and teacher training are described and an attempt is made to account for similarities and differences in the nature and extent of educational reform in both regions. Particular attention is paid to the significance for change of the concept that education and educational planning can play an important part in social and economic development.

Sources of information were entirely bibliographical. Consideration was given not only to material pertaining directly to the educational systems of Quebec and Ireland but also to material relating to such ecological factors as history, economics, sociology, and politics, which had structured and continued to modify these systems.

Arrangements for secondary education in Quebec and Ireland in 1953 were the result of historical developments which had conferred the prime responsibility for secondary education on the authorities of the Catholic Church and had relegated the governments of these regions to a subordinate position with which, for reasons of economy, they were not at this time dissatisfied. During the decade which followed, however, there was evidence of a strong desire on the part of the State in Quebec and in Ireland to assume a more active role in the conduct of

secondary education. This change of attitude might be attributed, at least in part, to two major causes--the rapidly mounting enrolments in secondary schools, and the acceptance at the government level of the principle that educational expansion was a necessity for social and economic progress. Increased enrolments necessitated considerably augmented support from public funds and caused the governments of Quebec and Ireland to become more concerned with the equitable distribution and efficient utilization of these funds in education. This concern was enhanced by government preoccupation with education as an essential ingredient of that rapid and sustained economic development which was regarded as the solution to pressing social and economic problems in Quebec and Ireland. It was considered that the provision of such an important social commodity as secondary education could no longer be left to haphazard voluntary efforts but should be subjected to long-term State planning. The abandonment by the State of its laissez-faire policy in secondary education led to the implementation or projection of major educational changes. The pace and significance of educational reform were, however, much greater in Quebec than in Ireland. This disparity must be attributed in large measure to important differences between the socio-economic backgrounds of education in these two regions.

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INTRODUCTION

Two outstanding phenomena in the field of education within the past twenty years have been the heightened interest of economists and governments in the relevance of education for economic progress, and the considerable increase in enrolments at the secondary school level.

Although the interest of economists in education as a promoter of prosperity is not a purely recent occurrence--the British economist John Vaizey traces a "long and honorable tradition" back to Adam Smith¹--since the Second World War in particular there has been greatly enhanced concern with this aspect of education. This concern has accompanied a post-war stress on economic growth resulting partly from the desire to secure rising standards of living and partly to maintain a strong position of security. For, as is noted by United Nations, while the purpose of economic growth is generally stated to be improvement of living standards, other considerations, such as increase of national strength and prestige are usually involved as well.² Much research has been carried out which, on the one hand, has attempted to elicit and quantify the contribution of education to economic growth, and on the

¹ John Vaizey, The Economics of Education (London: Faber and Faber, 1962), pp. 15 - 25.

² United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Report on the World Situation (E/CN. 5/346/Rev. 1, April 4, 1961) (New York: United Nations, 1961), p. 82.

other hand to determine the optimum means of investing in education as an instrument of social and economic development. Work in the former field has been carried out in the United States, notably by the National Bureau of Economic Research, and in other countries as well. American economists such as Theodore Schultz, F. W. Kendrick, E. F. Denison and Robert Solow, and Scandinavian economists such as Odd Aukrust and Ingvar Svennilson, have in general concluded that the contribution of education to economic growth in advanced economies appears to be quite high--higher even than that occasioned by an equal investment in physical capital.³ Their findings have probably underestimated the significance of the contribution since they have not taken into account the undoubted but not readily measurable external economies, or indirect benefits, attendant on the educational process.⁴ The main work in the area of educational investment policy has been conducted by United Nations through its agency, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which includes in its membership most of the nations of Western Europe as well as Canada, the United States and Turkey. Unesco

³ An excellent review of the methods and conclusions of economists in measuring the economic contribution of education is presented in William G. Bowen, "Assessing the Economic Contribution of Education: An Appraisal of Alternative Approaches," O. E. C. D. Study Group in the Economics of Education, Economic Aspects of Higher Education (Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1964), pp. 177 - 200.

⁴ A conceptual analysis of the nature and extent of these benefits has been presented in Burton A. Weisbrod, External Benefits of Public Education: An Economic Analysis (Princeton, New Jersey, U. S. A.: Industrial Relations Section, 1964).

has paid most attention to the role of education in the development of economically backward areas, while the O. E. C. D. has concentrated on the impact of education on economic growth in more advanced economies. Convinced that education has a part to play in national development, and that careful planning and coordination are required to maximize its contribution, Unesco has since 1956 placed a decided accent on the function of educational planning within overall development programs. It has broadcast its ideas through seminars and symposia and by organizing regional conferences on education and development in various parts of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.⁵ The O. E. C. D., founded in 1961, grew out of the earlier Organization for European Economic Cooperation, which had furthered the economic resurgence of post-war Europe. The interest of the O. E. C. D. in education originated in the parent organization, which in 1958 set up a Committee for Scientific and Technical Personnel to meet the problem of manpower supply and training which had arisen in some member countries of the O. E. E. C. This Committee in turn created a Study Group in the Economics of Education consisting of independent economists and educators whose function was to study the complex theoretical, methodological and policy problems involved in the process by which education contributes to economic growth.⁶ The Study Group continued to operate under the auspices of the O. E. C. D. and through its meetings and publications kept the matter of education--

⁵Unesco, Unesco and Educational Planning (MC/ED., June 13, 1965) (Paris, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1965), pp. 9 - 10.

⁶O. E. C. D., Study Group in the Economics of Education, op. cit., pp. 7 - 8.

particularly as a key investment item--constantly before the member states of that organization.

The emphasis placed by economists on the function of education in promoting economic growth has had pronounced repercussions at the government level in a number of countries with different economic orientations. In the U. S. S. R. and other countries with centrally-planned economies, educational planning has been brought to the extreme where the kind and amount of education to be provided is intimately integrated with calculations which balance manpower needs and resources for the whole economy.⁷ Countries without centrally planned economies have been loath to match educational output with anticipated manpower demands in any exact or comprehensive way.⁸ Nevertheless many of them, including France, Italy, Sweden, the Netherlands, Japan, Israel and Nigeria, have undertaken long-term manpower forecasts with a view to making educational facilities available to those who may be induced to use them.⁹ In such countries, planners tend to point to the rapid obsolescence of specific skills through the pace of technological change and feel that schools should impart adaptability more than training for specific jobs.¹⁰

⁷United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, op. cit., p. 88.

⁸United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, op. cit., p. 89.

⁹Michel Debeauvais, "Methods of Forecasting Long-Term Manpower Needs," O. E. C. D., Planning Education for Economic and Social Development (Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1963), p. 85.

¹⁰United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, loc. cit.

Such a view would favour education of a general liberal type rather than more direct vocational training. Perhaps the most striking evidence of recent government awareness of the importance of education for economic progress and national security is found in the increased preoccupation of the United States government with the advancement of education. In a society where federal intervention in most fields was traditionally suspect and was particularly repugnant in the field of education, the central administration began to invest very heavily in education after the Sputnik crisis of 1957, partly with the object of remedying what was seen as a dangerous lack of scientists.¹¹ That the government had shed its earlier neutrality in educational matters was subsequently shown in President Kennedy's message on education of January 1963 when he said:

For the nation, increasing the quality and availability of education is vital to both our national security and our domestic well-being. A free nation can rise no higher than the standard of excellence set in its schools and colleges. Ignorance and illiteracy, unskilled workers and school dropouts--these and other failures of our educational system breed failures in our social and economic system: delinquency, unemployment, chronic dependence, a waste of human resources, a loss of productive power and purchasing power and an increase in tax-supported benefits. The loss of only one year's income due to unemployment is more than the total cost of twelve years of education through high school. Failure to improve educational performance is thus not only poor social policy, it is poor economics. . . . This nation is committed to greater investment in economic growth; and recent research has shown that one of the most beneficial of all such investments is education. . . . It is an investment which yields a substantial return in the higher wages and purchasing power of trained workers, in the new products and techniques which come from skilled minds and in the constant expansion of this nation's storehouse of useful knowledge.¹²

¹¹Seymour E. Harris, "General Problems in Education and Manpower," O. E. C. D., Study Group in the Economics of Education, op. cit., p. 55.

¹²Harris, loc. cit.

A commission of educational experts, who participated in the International Study of University Admissions conducted by Unesco and the International Association of Universities, investigated education at the secondary and higher levels in the post-war period. The commission noted that a heavy impact had been made upon education at these levels by the general acceptance of the concept that education and educational planning play a vital part in social and economic development. Evidence of this was seen not only in the greater financial support of educational development, in the creation of new programmes and institutions, in the emphasis which had been placed through government action on values and opportunities created by education, but particularly in the marked expansion of the secondary segment of the educational systems of most countries.¹³

This points to a direct link between the first major phenomenon of post-war education--the enhanced faith in education as a means to prosperity--and the second major phenomenon--the "exploding" school enrolment at the secondary level. The International Study of University Admissions reported that, whereas world enrolment figures at all educational levels had increased by an average of sixty-one per cent between 1950 and 1959, the increase at the secondary level was by far the most significant at eighty-one per cent.¹⁴ The Study advanced two substantial related causes for an expansion of such magnitude. One cause appeared

¹³ Frank Bowles, The International Study of University Admissions: Access to Higher Education (Paris: Unesco and the International Association of Universities, 1963), I, 28.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 97.

to be the endorsement of education as a crucial factor in national development. The other cause was seen as the application to education of the concept of democracy, which maintains that the opportunity for education through the primary and secondary levels is necessary for all people.¹⁵ These concepts, both essentially social and economic in origin, when applied to education generated forces of change at the levels of the nation and of the individual. Nations gave strong impetus to educational expansion through government support and planning aimed at national development. Individuals, enjoying higher living standards than before the war, aspired to more elevated social, intellectual and economic status by means of education.¹⁶ These forces effected changes such as the easing of entrance requirements to secondary school, the broadening of the curriculum, the reduction or elimination of tuition fees, and the increase of grants and allowances for needy students--all of which resulted in a movement of secondary education towards mass education.¹⁷

The conviction that education is a necessity for national development and security has profound significance for the whole structure and content of education. Granted that it is at once a form of private consumption and investment and also a form of social consumption and investment, it is the prevailing executive consensus as to where education stands on the private-social and investment-consumption continuums which decides its finance, control, and nature. Once it is accepted that the welfare of a society depends significantly upon the education of that society, then

¹⁵Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 98 - 103.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 33 - 34.

that education will be viewed more as a social investment than as an item of private consumption and will be considered primarily a social rather than a private want. Professor John Kenneth Galbraith comments on this change of orientation:

This difference leads on to very different attitudes towards education in development. When we think of education as a consumer service it is something on which we should save. Savings are necessary for investment, and savings are obtained by economizing on consumption. But when we think of education as an investment, it becomes something we should emphasize. We seek to expand investment.¹⁸

When education is viewed mainly as a private want the permissive principle of consumer sovereignty is paramount, and there is only marginal social concern over leaving its supply to the market. But once education is regarded mainly as a social want it can no longer be abandoned to the vicissitudes and imperfections of the market but must be supplied through the budget and subjected to planning, with all its implications of purpose, coordination, efficiency, and bureaucracy. Galbraith draws attention to the contrasting nature of these attitudes and to the conflict in educational policy which ensues during an intermediate or transition stage between the primacy of one attitude and the other.¹⁹ Brian Holmes also notes this conflict and sees it in most democratic countries as a clash "between those who regard education as a human right and those who give great importance to economic considerations."²⁰

It is the purpose of this study to examine and trace developments

¹⁸ John Kenneth Galbraith, Economic Development in Perspective (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 48.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 48 - 53.

²⁰ Brian Holmes, Problems in Education: A Comparative Approach (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), p. 132.

in secondary education in the Province of Quebec and in the Republic of Ireland during the period 1953 - 1963 in the areas of organization and administration of education, curriculum, and teacher training, with the main object of discovering what impact, if any, the concept of education as a promoter of economic and social development has had upon secondary education in these societies, and of attempting to account for any differences in the extent or timing of this impact. These two societies have been chosen for investigation because the educational systems of both areas have developed from historical, political, philosophical, and economic foundations which are similar in many respects.

The investigator hopes that the findings of this study will have relevance for such nations as Spain, Portugal and their former Latin-American colonies which are now in various degrees of economic underdevelopment and which have social and historical backgrounds not dissimilar from those of the Province of Quebec and the Republic of Ireland. If the success or failure of the Province of Quebec and the Republic of Ireland in adjusting their economies to competitive modern conditions depends to a great extent on their modification of their educational systems, the lessons to be learned from developments in these societies might find some useful application in countries of similar backgrounds faced with similar problems.

The sources of data used in this study were entirely bibliographical, and included government and independent material, both published and unpublished. While most of the material was available in English, much of what related to conditions in the Province of Quebec was in French only, and some of the material relating to the Republic of Ireland was in Irish

only.²¹ The study is chiefly descriptive and comparative but is also to some extent interpretative. It involved the reading of material which referred to the educational systems under investigation as well as to ecological factors such as religion, economics, sociology, and politics; the collection and organization of data; the comparison of organized data; and the writing of the thesis.

This study examines state-supported secondary education in the Province of Quebec and the Republic of Ireland. It does not include schooling which is supported entirely from private sources. Attention is directed at the organization and administration of secondary education, and at the curriculum and the preparation of teachers. No attempt is made to deal with methodology of instruction, systems of school inspection, professional status or remuneration of teachers, the internal workings of government departments, or with direct vocational or technical education except where this is included in the program of studies in secondary schools.

From an examination of bibliographical catalogues of books, journals, periodicals and theses, there appears to be no study which has attempted to compare secondary education in the Province of Quebec and the Republic of Ireland. There exists however a body of literature which deals with manifold aspects of each of these places, including education. Mentioned below are a number of sources of information which relate to the whole or to particular aspects of each of the educational systems which the investigator examines.

²¹In the text, quotations from French-language sources have been translated by this writer.

Sources for the history of Quebec were found in the contributions of Gosselin, Desrosiers, and Parmelee to Shortt and Doughty's monumental work on Canadian history; in Audet's detailed description of the development of Quebec education to the middle of the nineteenth century, in his later work on the Council of Public Instruction, which was particularly useful for the period 1859 - 1908, and in his presentation to the Royal Society of Canada dealing with Quebec Catholic education from 1910 to 1935; in the first volume of Groulx's highly nationalistic interpretation of educational developments in French Canada; in Percival's contributions to the history of Protestant education in the province--especially Across the Years; in Carter's short account of English Catholic education; in the summary historical accounts of Filteau and of the Parent Commission; in Phillips' comprehensive history of Canadian education; and in the frequent references to education in Wade's magnificent work on the general history of the province. Information on the organization, administration, and curricula of secondary schools and on teacher-training arrangements was found in such sources as the annual reports of the Superintendent of Education and, latterly, of the Minister of Education; the section on the Province of Quebec in the survey of Canadian public education by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics; the annual descriptive and statistical account of education in the Quebec Yearbook; the Quebec School Act and related statutes; the regulations of the Catholic and Protestant Committees of the Council of Public Instruction; the works of Carter and Filteau mentioned above; the official study programmes of the Department of Education; the briefs submitted by the Federation of Classical Colleges to the Tremblay and Parent Commissions; the reports of the Tremblay and Parent Commissions; and journals and newspapers such as L'Instruction

Publique (an official organ of the Catholic section of the Department of Education), The Educational Record (the journal of the Protestant schools in Quebec), L'Enseignement (the journal of La Corporation des Instituteurs catholiques de la Province de Québec), L'Enseignement Secondaire (a publication of the Arts Faculty of Laval University), and Le Devoir (an influential Montreal daily). The unpublished theses of Lambert and Dupuis were the most useful to the investigator of several dealing with Quebec education--the former for its description of Quebec education at the beginning of the period under investigation and the latter for its account of developments in French Catholic education during a critical period of reform.

The most detailed account of the history of Irish secondary education was found in the report of the Irish Council of Education on the secondary school curriculum. O Cathain's survey of Irish education contained some data of historical interest, and Mescal's study, though concerned chiefly with Church-State relations at the primary school level, also presented some information on the more recent history of secondary education. Auchmuty attempted to cover the field of Irish educational history from the pre-Christian era to modern times in a single small volume but was able to deal adequately only with the genesis of the national primary school system. His bibliography reveals a poverty of Irish educational historiography which has not been alleviated in the years since his book was published. Little more than passing references to secondary education were found in standard works of Irish history such as those of Curtis and of Hayden and Moonan. Data on secondary school organization, administration, curriculum and teacher-training were found in published and unpublished documents of the Irish

Department of Education, especially in its annual reports and programmes of study; in the calendars of the National University of Ireland and its colleges and of Dublin University; in the general section on Irish education in the O. E. C. D. report on Irish technical training; in the chapter on Ireland in Unesco's World Survey of Education; and especially in a thorough survey of Irish education sponsored in part by the O. E. C. D. Irish universities have produced no research of consequence on Irish secondary education, and only two theses have been completed on this topic in recent years in North American universities. Gallagher's thesis describes the status of education at all levels in Ireland about 1944, and the history of Irish education from the monastic schools of the early Christian period. Although the study is necessarily superficial it presents a comprehensive view of Irish education. Madigan's minuscule thesis, on the other hand, is of little value.

Some material appearing in Irish journals, periodicals and newspapers may have been overlooked by this investigator because of the lack of catalogued material from Irish publications of this nature, and the absence of this type of Irish publication from the libraries to which he had access. However, from references in available publications the investigator does not believe that significant material was missed because of these handicaps. Even after allowing for this possibility, the investigator was struck by the paucity of material on Irish education published at either the popular or academic level when compared to the spate of literature on educational matters produced by the probably more concerned and certainly more articulate population of Quebec.

This study has an introduction and seven chapters followed by a bibliography of source-material. The historical, social and economic

backgrounds of secondary education in Quebec and Ireland are described and compared in the first two chapters. An account of secondary education in Quebec and Ireland in 1953 is presented in Chapters Three and Four. Developments in secondary education in Quebec and Ireland between 1953 and 1963 are described in Chapters Five and Six. A comparison of secondary education in both regions is presented in Chapter Seven.

In this study certain terms will be used as defined below.

"Church," unless otherwise indicated, will mean the Roman Catholic Church in either the Province of Quebec or the Republic of Ireland.

"Curriculum" will mean those specific educational activities which by law must or may be conducted during school hours. "Ireland" will mean the Republic of Ireland. "Quebec" will mean the Province of Quebec. "Private school" will mean a school which is supported at least in part by public funds but which is owned by or vested in a private individual or group. "Secondary education" will mean education which is provided at the post-primary but pre-university level by schools which are in receipt of public funds and in which the programme of studies is primarily academic rather than practical in content. "State" will mean the body of people organized for educational purposes either by the government of the Republic of Ireland or of the Province of Quebec, according to context.

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF EDUCATION IN QUEBEC AND IRELAND

A brief account of the origins of secondary education in Quebec and Ireland is necessary for an understanding of secondary education as it was constituted in those regions in 1953 and as it developed during the following decade. For an educational system is not an overnight growth but the dynamic product of stresses, strains, and compromises which have structured that system in the past and will continue to modify it in the future. Sir Michael Sadler, one of the founding fathers of comparative education, reminds us that "the things outside the schools matter even more than the things inside the schools, and govern and interpret the things inside," and that a "system of education is a living thing, the outcome of forgotten struggles and difficulties and 'of battles long ago'." ¹

An Historical Sketch of Secondary Education in Quebec

The history of education in Quebec falls into three fairly distinct periods. During the first period, between the early years of the seventeenth century and 1760, Quebec was a French colony in which the civic

¹ How Far Can We Learn Anything of Practical Value from the Study of Foreign Systems of Education (Guildford, 1900), quoted in Vernon Mallinson, An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Education (Second ed.; London: Heinemann, 1960), p. 1.

State participated only to the extent of supporting the educational ordinances of the bishop and of making sporadic--though generous--grants to his schools.⁴ Thus the Church in the early days of the Quebec colony enjoyed complete autonomy in school affairs and achieved a position which from the ecclesiastical viewpoint, was ideal. The Church was not likely to settle readily for a less influential position in the future.

Secondary education in the colony was given only in the Jesuit College which had been founded at Quebec City in 1635. This institution was modelled on the famous Jesuit schools in Europe. It provided instruction both for seminarians and for local boys who had no religious vocation, and provided the same academic fare for all--a study of Greek and Latin humanities and of Catholic philosophy. Studies were extended over several years and were in particular aimed at religious training.⁵ The Jesuit College, both in the composition of its student body and the nature of its curriculum, was a prototype of significance for the future.

The practice of segregating boys and girls at school, which was the rule in Europe at the time, was strictly observed in all but the lowest grades. The belief that coeducation was fatal to virtue was no doubt reinforced by the boisterous life of a pioneer settlement.⁶

A leading historian of French Canada, Professor Mason Wade, observes that some of the strongest forces in modern Quebec derive from this period of French rule, including "the apostolic spirit of the Counter

⁴Louis-Philippe Audet, Le Système scolaire de la Province de Québec (Québec: Les Presses Universitaires Laval, 1951), II, 58 - 59.

⁵Ibid., pp. 39 - 47.

⁶Phillips, op. cit., pp. 16 - 17.

authorities collaborated with the Roman Catholic Church in providing education for the colonists. During the second period, from 1760 to 1840, after the colony had been acquired by Britain, the Catholic Church authorities found themselves in conflict with the British officials, particularly over educational matters, and strongly opposed government attempts to erect a publicly-controlled school system. During the third period, from 1840 to 1953, a province-wide school system was established and developed. Although financed mainly by public funds, it became to a considerable extent free of public control. Secondary education, which was provided only in private institutions during the first two periods, became increasingly important in the public school system during the last period--at first in Protestant schools and later in Catholic schools also.

Throughout the French regime in Quebec the colony consisted of a homogeneous group of French Catholic settlers directed by paternalistic civic and religious leaders. There was no problem posed by a minority of different political and religious views, since Protestant settlement was discouraged.² Education was provided in Catholic schools conducted by members of religious orders and by Catholic lay teachers who had been licensed by the Bishop of Quebec. Education was under the constant surveillance of the bishop, whose word was law in school affairs.³ The

² Jean-Charles Falardeau, "The Role and Importance of the Church in French Canada," ed. Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin, French-Canadian Society (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964), p. 343.

³ C. E. Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada (Toronto: Gage, 1957), p. 4.

Reformation or Catholic Revival, the cultural tradition of classicism, the political ideal of absolutism or benevolent despotism, and a semi-feudal hierarchical concept of society."⁷ These forces have made a profound impression on the contemporary system of education in the province.

After the English conquest of 1760 the earlier close relationship between the government and the Catholic Church ended abruptly. The British government and its related Anglican Church established themselves at the head of affairs and the Catholic Church was relegated to a minor position. Although initially some punitive steps were taken against the Catholic Church--much of its property was confiscated and recruiting for religious orders was restricted--it was not actively persecuted.⁸ Early directives from London indicated that Anglican schools were to be used as instruments of proselytization and anglicization.⁹ These orders were ignored by the British governors of the time.¹⁰ Nevertheless the suspicions they aroused in Catholic Church leaders were never completely allayed, but rather were sustained by the actions of less tolerant British officials in later years. In the field of education the Catholic Church went its own way, relying entirely on its meagre resources and determined to oppose the attendance of Catholic children at any school conducted by the British government and its church.¹¹ To ensure a

⁷Mason Wade, The French Canadians (Toronto: Macmillan, 1955), p. 1.

⁸Ibid., pp. 51 - 52.

⁹Ibid., p. 54.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 54 - 55; pp. 61 - 62.

¹¹Adélard Desrosiers, "French Education, 1763 - 1913," Canada and its Provinces, ed. Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Co., 1914) pp. 409 - 410.

supply of priests it directed its resources towards secondary education. The Seminary at Quebec took over the work of the Jesuit College which had been closed after the conquest. It continued the tradition of the college by educating both local boys and seminarians in the humanities.¹² With the influx of emigré priests from Europe after the French Revolution, the number of colleges increased.¹³ These classical colleges continued the work of educating in a single institution an elite of clergymen who later became leaders in their parishes and dioceses and an elite of laymen who might occupy positions of influence in the liberal professions.¹⁴

Anglicans of the Protestant minority, which had assumed a position of ascendancy after the conquest, attended grammar schools, some of which received State support.¹⁵ These were modelled on the English Public Schools and stressed instruction in the classics.¹⁶ Some of these schools offered education of a high quality but most were inferior and were ill-suited to the needs and attitudes of an English-speaking community in North America. Dissenting Protestants had little regard for the grammar schools, which they considered snobbish, undemocratic, Anglican-dominated, and of doubtful utility.¹⁷ They preferred academies, which were secondary schools established by private groups. In these boys and

¹² Audet, op. cit., pp. 126 - 127.

¹³ La Fédération des Collèges classiques, L'Organisation et les Besoins de l'Enseignement classique dans le Québec (Montréal: Fides, 1954), pp. 9 - 10.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 12 - 13.

¹⁵ George W. Parmelee, "English Education in Quebec," op. cit., ed. Shortt and Doughty, pp. 463 - 464.

¹⁶ Phillips, op. cit., pp. 91 - 92.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 195.

girls studied, together, a wide range of subjects.¹⁸

While private secondary education facilities for Catholics and Protestants were being expanded, the State, under pressure from the Protestant population in general and the Anglican Bishop of Quebec in particular, made several unsuccessful attempts to set up a public school system which would provide for Protestants and Catholics alike. Since the State was unwilling to provide separate confessional schools for Catholics its plans were condemned by the Catholic hierarchy as being intolerant and aimed at the proselytization of Catholic children.¹⁹

The foundations of an enduring system of public education acceptable to the Catholic Church were not laid until the 1840's. In this system the erection, financing and control of public schools were entrusted to elected school boards which derived their revenues from local property taxes, government grants, and student fees. Where a religious minority of either Catholics or Protestants wished to do so, it could conduct its own confessional school through a separate school board which had the same rights and duties as the school board of the religious majority.²⁰ The system was modified somewhat in 1859 when a Council of Public Instruction, composed of Catholics and Protestants, was appointed by the government to control as a unified body the pedagogical aspects of public education, particularly the programmes of studies and the certification

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 196.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 80 - 82.

²⁰ Quebec, Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec (Quebec: Office of the Queen's Printer, 1963), I, 8 - 12. This Report will be generally referred to in the text as the Report of the Parent Commission.

of teachers. Subsequently the Council of Public Instruction was divided into two confessional committees which were to regulate independently the public schools of Catholics and Protestants. Separate courses of study and separate normal schools were regulated by the committees for these religious groups.²¹ This segregation on religious lines was further emphasized and promoted when in 1875 the Catholic bishops of the province came to constitute one-half of the membership of the Catholic Committee.²² From then on the meetings of the Catholic and Protestant Committees in full session to consider educational matters of concern to both religious groups became less frequent. In 1908 began what Audet describes as "the long cold night of the two solitudes" during which the Council of Education sat no more, and each confessional section of the Quebec public school system developed in an autonomous and uncoordinated fashion for over fifty years.²³

In 1867, before the bishops had assumed a strong position in the Council of Public Instruction, the responsibility for education in the province had been placed in the hands of a Minister of Education, assisted by the Council. The acrimonious disputes between Quebec political factions of that time, and their frequent involvement of the Catholic hierarchy, whose power had been considerably augmented by the strong religious revival of the later nineteenth century, led to a move to transfer the control of public education from the arena of party politics to a more "elevated and serene atmosphere."²⁴ This was effected--after consultation

²¹Ibid., pp. 9 - 10, 14 - 15.

²²Ibid., pp. 15 - 16.

²³Louis-Philippe Audet, Histoire du Conseil de l'Instruction publique (Montréal: Éditions Leméac, 1964), p. 100.

²⁴Ibid., p. 80.

with the bishops--by the legislation of 1875. In addition to giving a major role in the Council of Public Instruction to the Catholic bishops, this legislation considerably enhanced the power of the Council by abolishing the position of Minister of Education and placing the administration of education in the hands of a permanent Superintendent of Education who would be directed by the Council of Public Instruction and its separate Committees.²⁵ In 1897 the government attempted to reclaim its authority in education by restoring the position of Minister of Education, under whom the Council of Public Instruction would operate with reduced powers. This move was vehemently opposed by the Catholic hierarchy and failed to obtain the approval of the upper house of the Quebec legislature.²⁶ Subsequent demonstrations of anticlericalism in Europe confirmed the Quebec bishops in their opposition to State intervention in education, so that the situation arose where "anybody who proposes a reform, measure or project which calls for the intervention of the provincial government in the domain of education or of social security risks being accused of Masonic or socialist allegiance."²⁷ Under these circumstances the State abdicated its claims to control education and settled for the more humble role of paymaster.

Most of the schools which were already in existence became part

²⁵Quebec, Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education . . . , pp. 15 - 16.

²⁶Audet, Histoire du Conseil . . . , pp. 125 - 163.

²⁷Association des Professeurs de l'Université de Montréal, Mémoire a la Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement, 1962, II, 20, quoted in Audet, Histoire du Conseil . . . , p. 182.

of the public school system within a short time of its foundation in the 1840's. The Catholic classical colleges were the notable exception. Protestant academies and grammar schools soon lost their separate identities when they became public high schools providing instruction in a variety of subjects, including those required for matriculation into McGill University or Bishop's University, both English-language institutions. The non-participation of the Catholic classical colleges meant that, as yet, public education at the secondary level was provided only in Protestant schools.

The Catholic hierarchy consolidated its position in private secondary education, as it did in public primary education, during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Of major significance in this consolidation was the chartering of the senior classical college--the Quebec Seminary--as a university in 1852. Known as Laval University, it was placed under the authority of the Archbishop of Quebec. Many of the classical colleges became affiliated with this university--the only French-language university in the province--and accepted the regulations and programme of studies prescribed by its Faculty of Arts for the arts baccalaureate, which gave entrance to the university.²⁸ Thus Laval University succeeded in coordinating the programmes of the separate colleges affiliated with it, and enhanced their prestige by making them the only avenue to university studies open to French-speaking Catholics for seventy years.

Public education in Catholic schools until 1929 had comprised only eight years of schooling. This included two years of post-elementary education in what were called "complementary primary" grades. In 1929

²⁸La Fédération des Collèges classiques, op. cit., p. 13.

an important development occurred when a "superior primary" course of three years was added.²⁹ In time, most of the Catholic students pursuing secondary studies were to be found in the five complementary and superior grades of the public schools rather than in the private classical colleges. The higher classes in the public schools were of a terminal nature, since they gave university access only to a chosen few who wished to enter faculties and schools such as those of science, agriculture, forestry, and nursing. These studies were promoted especially by the University of Montreal, a branch of Laval University which had received a separate charter in 1920, but they lacked the prestige to attract sufficient graduates from the classical colleges.³⁰ Students from classical colleges preferred to enter the more esteemed and traditional fields of law, medicine and theology.

With the spread of public secondary education among the population of Quebec, the tiny English-speaking Catholic minority, concentrated in Montreal and chiefly of Irish descent, found itself in a difficult position. Because of their language, English-speaking Catholic students were barred from the French-language universities. On the other hand, the official curriculum of the English-Catholic public schools, which was similar to that offered in French-Catholic public schools, did not prepare them for entrance into the English-language universities.³¹ The situation

²⁹ Louis-Philippe Audet, "L'Enseignement dans le Quebec, 1910 - 1935," Aux Sources du Présent, ed. Léon Lortie and Adrien Plouffe (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), p. 43.

³⁰ Roch Duval, "The Roman Catholic Colleges of Quebec," ed. George Z. F. Bereday and Joseph A. Lauwerys, The Year Book of Education, 1957 (London: Evans Brothers, 1957), pp. 283 - 284.

³¹ G. Emmett Carter, The Catholic Public Schools of Quebec (Toronto: Gage, 1957), pp. 77 - 78.

improved in 1931 when the Catholic Committee approved a programme of studies for English Catholic high schools which was more suited to the needs of their students.³² University studies became readily accessible to English-Catholic students when, in 1940, McGill University recognized the results of the leaving certificate examinations of English Catholic high schools for matriculation into that university.³³

The widespread influence of the Catholic Church in Quebec education, and the conservative nature of this influence, was demonstrated in the opposition which delayed the introduction of compulsory school attendance in the province until the Catholic Committee acquiesced sixty years after the matter was first raised. Compulsory attendance was proposed in Quebec in 1881 but the association of this measure in clerical circles with the educational policies of the anticlerical Gambetta group in France resulted in the matter being dropped.³⁴ Several subsequent attempts to pass compulsory attendance laws aroused bitter controversy but proved fruitless. In 1912 the Protestant community was unsuccessful in its efforts to have such legislation passed for its schools, even though the principle had been approved by the Protestant Committee.³⁵ Finally in 1942, long after the Pope had shown his approval of the principle by applying it in Vatican schools, the Catholic Committee pronounced itself in favor of compulsory school attendance. A law which required all school children in the province to attend until the age of fourteen years became operative in the following year.³⁶

³²Ibid., p. 77.

³³Ibid., p. 83.

³⁴Audet, "L'Enseignement dans le Quebec.. . .," p. 37.

³⁵Ibid., p. 38.

³⁶Ibid., p. 41.

An Historical Sketch of Secondary Education in Ireland

The history of secondary education in Ireland may be considered as having its origins in the seventeenth century. The schools of the Gaelic system, which collapsed in that century, were chiefly directed to the training of bardic poets or filidh, who formed an integral part of the Gaelic social order. The organization and practice of these schools bore no resemblance to those of modern secondary schools in Western societies, and will not be considered here.³⁷

The subsequent history of Irish secondary education may be considered as falling into three periods. During the first period a determined policy of Anglicization and proselytization of the Irish-speaking Catholic population by means of State-supported education was pursued by British civil and religious authorities in Ireland. During the second period, while unsuccessful attempts were made to provide public secondary education for Catholics and Protestants in nondenominational schools, Catholic clergy laid the foundations of a system of independent, confessional secondary schools. During the third period, the British government succeeded in setting up a system of State-supported secondary education which met the approval of the Catholic authorities and which, although modified by the Irish government after the achievement of independence, remained unchanged in its basic principle of State aid to private education with the minimum of State intervention.

The first period of the history of Irish secondary education began with the conquest of the Irish clans by Queen Elizabeth, a Protestant

³⁷ For a description of the bardic poets and their schools, see Eleanor Knott, The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall O Huiginn (1550 - 1591) (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1922), pp. xxiii - xlv.

monarch who had been excommunicated by the Pope and whose Catholic subjects had by the same authority been released from allegiance to her. The conquered Irish Catholics were viewed by the British government as potential traitors and allies of the Catholic powers, Spain and France, in their wars against Britain. Consequently, every effort was made by the British State and the Anglican Church to persuade or force Irish Catholics to identify with the British Crown in language, religion, and policy. It was considered necessary to the national survival of Britain that the assimilation of the native Irish should proceed with all speed. Education was seen as a vital instrument in this process. Grammar schools were endowed by the State and by private individuals and corporations with the object of converting Irish-speaking Catholics to the use of the English language and the Anglican Prayer Book.³⁸ In these schools the study of the Latin language was emphasized. Students were prepared for entrance to the Anglican University of Dublin (Trinity College), founded in 1592. After 1634, Catholics were barred from the degrees of this university, the only one in Ireland.³⁹ Catholic schools were outlawed for almost two centuries, and severe penalties, including death, were imposed on Catholic schoolteachers. In times of crisis for Britain these laws were rigorously enforced. It was not until 1782, when Britain was in a position of hegemony in Europe, with her traditional enemies, France and Spain, humbled, that the penal laws against Catholic schools were repealed. The

³⁸Ireland, Department of Education, Report of the Council of Education: The Curriculum of the Secondary School (Dublin: The Stationery Office, 1962), p. 10.

³⁹Edmund Curtis, A History of Ireland (6th ed.; London, Methuen, 1950), p. 240.

last of the severe impositions imposed upon Catholics in other areas of civil rights were lifted by the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829.⁴⁰ The policy of cultural assimilation through education proved to be an utter failure since the Protestant grammar schools had been shunned by the Irish Catholic population.⁴¹ The policy left its mark, however, in a lasting suspicion on the part of Irish Catholics that the British Crown supported schools only for the purposes of proselytization and deculturation. This suspicion lived long after such motives had weakened and perhaps vanished entirely.

The second period includes most of the nineteenth century. There was a considerable change in the attitude of the British government towards Catholicism and Catholic schools. This change was a reflection of the almost universal weakening of religious intolerance which had embittered European history after the Reformation, but it was no doubt also due to the fact that the Catholic Church was no longer viewed as an international power to be feared, but as a reactionary force which might be used to bolster the established order in Britain against the liberal and radical ideas of the time. Thus, priests who fled to Ireland from the Continent during the French Revolution were welcomed by the British government and permitted to open secondary schools. This concession was also inspired by the fear that Irish Catholic students forced to seek education

⁴⁰ John Johnston Auchmuty, Irish Education, A Historical Survey (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1937), pp. 64 - 65.

⁴¹ Ireland, Department of Education, Report of the Council . . ., p. 10.

on the Continent would be affected by the revolutionary spirit.⁴² Since the Anglican Church was still the established State church in Ireland, Catholic schools could expect no assistance from State funds. This did not pose critical financial problems for these early Catholic secondary schools, since there was as yet no system of public primary schools to supply large numbers of students.

Two important developments during this second period made the participation of the government in secondary education both necessary and possible. The first of these was the institution in 1831 of a State-supported, but Church-controlled, system of primary schools. These schools, known as National Schools, mushroomed throughout the country and brought free education to millions of children who until then had had little opportunity for formal education. The success of the National Schools put pressure on the secondary schools to expand their facilities. The Catholic secondary schools found themselves in difficult financial straits. They depended entirely upon student fees to meet their expenses, yet the extreme poverty of the Catholic population, particularly after the Great Famine, showed this source of revenue to be hopelessly inadequate. Nevertheless, tentative advances by the State towards providing public support for nondenominational secondary schools were rejected.⁴³ The second development which contributed to a climate favorable to State support of Catholic secondary education was the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland in 1869. The Anglican Church, on the grounds that it was the national church, had, with its schools, been supported by valuable endowments, by government grants, and by tithes levied on both

⁴² Auchmuty, op. cit., p. 65.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 148.

Catholics and Protestants. An official inquiry at this time revealed the position of the Anglican Church to be anomalous, since only one-tenth of the Irish population was Anglican. It was recommended that the Anglican Church in Ireland be disestablished.⁴⁴ The subsequent disestablishment of the Anglican Church involved the loss of its State subsidies and the liquidation of much of its property. This was a particularly severe blow to the old-established Anglican grammar schools and many of them were forced to close as a result of their consequent financial difficulties.⁴⁵

The financial problems of both Catholic and Protestant secondary schools called for a solution through State aid. The situation was, however, politically a delicate one.⁴⁶ A successful solution would have to be designed that would neither antagonize Protestant sentiment unduly nor arouse Catholic resistance at the prospect of State interference.

The third period in the history of Irish secondary education began with the passing of the Intermediate Education Act in 1878. This was a cautious measure designed to promote secondary education through the indirect application of government assistance. A national board of commissioners, known as the Intermediate Education Board, was appointed to conduct a system of public examinations based on a wide range of secular subjects. Successful students in these examinations would receive cash prizes and other awards, and their school directors would receive

⁴⁴Mary Hayden and George A. Moonan, A Short History of the Irish People (Dublin: Educational Company of Ireland, 1960), pp. 466 - 468.

⁴⁵Ireland, Department of Education, "Brief Sketch of Secondary Education in Ireland" (Mimeographed, n. d.), p. 4.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 5.

fees from the Board. The Act emphasized that no examination would be held in religious instruction, nor would any payment be made for such instruction. The funds for this scheme would be derived from the temporalities of the disestablished Anglican Church in Ireland.⁴⁷

Financial assistance was thus made available by the government on equal terms to secondary schools of any or of no religious denomination, and no attempt was made by the government to interfere in the internal conduct of any school. The scheme was well received and in a short time most secondary schools, both Catholic and Protestant, were participating in it.

In the meantime the controversial university question had been solved. Although Dublin University admitted Catholics to its degrees after 1793,⁴⁸ the attendance of Catholics at this Anglican institution was not favored by the Catholic bishops. They were not satisfied either when the government established undenominational Queen's Colleges to provide university education.⁴⁹ An attempt by the bishops to set up a Catholic university in 1854 failed, so the institution of the Royal University, an examining and degree-granting institution, in 1879, was not opposed. This university gave way to the National University of Ireland in 1908. Although segregation was not complete, the National University became, in fact, the university of the Catholic population, while Dublin University continued to be the university of the Protestant population in Ireland. Each, however, accepted any candidate who satisfied matriculation requirements, whatever his religious beliefs.

⁴⁷Ireland, Department of Education, Report of the Council . . ., pp. 44 - 48.

⁴⁸Curtis, op. cit., p. 366.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 374.

The new system of secondary education was not without defects, and these became the object of growing criticism. One was the inadequate financial resources of the Intermediate Education Board, especially in relation to the growing number of examination candidates. Another was the principle of payment by results. This was felt to be conducive to "cramming" and opposed to the best interests of education. The third defect was the uneven quality of teachers due to the lack of any official control over teacher qualifications.⁵⁰ The first two weaknesses were not remedied under British rule, but an attempt was made to remedy the third when in 1916 a Registration Council was constituted to regulate the entry of secondary teachers into the profession.⁵¹

In 1921 British rule ended in what is now the Republic of Ireland. The Irish government at once set about reorganizing the educational system. In the interests of democracy and efficiency, the several appointed Boards which had administered education under British rule were abolished, and the administration of primary, secondary and technical education was integrated in a Department of Education which was the responsibility of a Minister of Education. The system of financing secondary education on the basis of examination results was discontinued and was replaced by the payment of grants based on student enrolment. The government also assumed the payment of part of the salaries of registered secondary teachers. The programme of studies was modified to give a more prominent place to the study of Irish language and culture.⁵²

⁵⁰Ireland, Department of Education, Report of the Council . . ., pp. 48 - 52, 58.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 60.

⁵²Ibid., pp. 62 - 66.

While secondary education was at first the exclusive concern of the Secondary Branch of the Department of Education, the Primary Branch became involved when some National Schools were permitted to conduct post-primary classes in which students followed the official secondary school programme of studies and presented themselves for Departmental examinations.⁵³

In 1926 the State undertook a minor venture into the institutional provision of secondary education when it erected and maintained from public funds a few residential secondary schools, known as Preparatory Colleges, in which candidates selected for primary teaching followed a regular secondary school course before entering teachers' training colleges.⁵⁴ These Preparatory Colleges were supervised by the local bishops.

In 1927, a School Attendance Act was passed which required full-time attendance at school of all children until the age of fourteen years. This extended the jurisdiction of an act of 1892 which had applied only in urban areas.⁵⁵

The Irish government thus made some changes in the administration, financing, and curriculum of secondary education but did little to disturb the basic principle of secondary education conducted by private

⁵³ Ibid., p. 86.

⁵⁴ Sean O Cathain, Secondary Education in Ireland (Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1958), p. 4.

⁵⁵ Ireland, Department of Education, "Material Submitted to United Nations Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in Connection with the Proposed Study of Discrimination in Education" (mimeographed, 1956), p. 3.

enterprise, which had been established and consolidated under the British regime. The State saw its role as an ancillary one, in which it gave a certain amount of financial assistance to private--mainly Church--enterprise, applied the rules and regulations of the Department of Education, and altered these only when the school managers were strongly in favor of such action.⁵⁶

The auxiliary role of the State in education was confirmed in the Constitution of Ireland, enacted in 1937. Article 42 of the Constitution states:

1. The State acknowledges that the primary and natural educator of the child is the Family and guarantees to respect the inalienable right and duty of parents to provide, according to their means, for the religious and moral, intellectual, physical and social education of their children.

2. Parents shall be free to provide this education in their homes or in private schools or in schools recognized or established by the State.

3. 1^o The State shall not oblige parents in violation of their conscience and lawful preference to send their children to schools established by the State, or to any particular type of school designated by the State.

2^o The State shall, however, as guardian of the common good, require in view of actual conditions that the children receive a certain minimum education, moral, intellectual, and social.

4. The State shall provide for free primary education and shall endeavour to supplement and give reasonable aid to private and corporate educational initiative, and, when the public good requires it, provide other educational facilities or institutions with due regard, however, for the rights of parents, especially in the matter of religious and moral formation.

5. In exceptional cases, where the parents for physical or moral reasons fail in their duty towards their children, the State as guardian of the common good, by appropriate means shall endeavour to supply the place of the parents, but always with due regard for the natural and imprescriptible rights of the child.⁵⁷

Although the supplementary position of the State in education

⁵⁶ O. Cathain, op. cit., p. 23.

⁵⁷ Ireland, Bunreacht na hÉireann: Constitution of Ireland (Dublin: Stationery Office, n. d.), pp. 138-142.

was emphasized in the Constitution, the State was not precluded from taking the initiative--in fact it was required to do so--when the public good required it. But even under such circumstances, the State was not relieved of its obligation to afford "reasonable aid" to private institutions, nor could it interfere with the right of parents to patronize private rather than public schools.

A Comparison of the Histories of Secondary Education in Quebec and Ireland

In both Quebec and Ireland, established cultures, distinct in language and religion, were overcome by British forces at a time when religious intolerance was aggravated by a chronic state of belligerence between Catholic and Protestant powers. The national insecurity of the British in the face of Catholic threats from the European continent contributed to their policy of Protestantizing and Anglicizing the conquered populations of Quebec and Ireland by means of State-supported Protestant schools. The effort to assimilate the Irish was particularly intense, partly because of the unique possibilities presented to Britain's continental rivals by Ireland's strategic position and rebellious population, and partly by the embattled position in which the British found themselves on occasions during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In Quebec the assimilation process was pursued less diligently because of the distance of the colony from Britain and its proximity to the disaffected American colonies, along with the fact that it was conquered at a time when the military hegemony of Britain had placed its national survival beyond question. No doubt the widespread rationalism and religious indifference of the later eighteenth century also contributed to

an increased tolerance of religious deviance on the part of the British government.

The anti-liberal attitude of the Catholic Church towards the revolutionary ideals rampant at the turn of the nineteenth century found favour with the British government and led to its closer relationship with Church leaders in Quebec and Ireland. The tenuous nature of the entente was demonstrated, however, by the fact that it never found expression in Church approval of State schools in either region. The deep suspicion of State control of schools, which had been implanted in the minds of the conquered peoples and their religious leaders, was not to be overcome in one or two generations. In Quebec, although the influence of the British government in the affairs of the province disappeared in the middle of the nineteenth century, this suspicion of State intervention in education received a new lease of life in the bitter controversies between the provincial government and the Catholic hierarchy in the later nineteenth century. These convinced the prelates that a native Catholic government could no more be entrusted with the direction of education than an alien, Protestant one, and strengthened them in their determination to keep the control of Catholic education at all levels in their own hands. In Ireland, while a foreign government, headed by a Protestant sovereign, ruled, there was no question of Church consent to State control of education. Such acquiescence was particularly unthinkable while a Protestant church was officially incorporated within that State. The Catholic Church acted in Ireland as it had done in Quebec, by building an independent system of secondary schools from its own resources. When it eventually accepted State aid, it did so voluntarily and without submitting to conditions which would prevent its rejection of this support in the future.

Whether, once deeply committed, it would have been possible for the Church in Ireland to conduct its schools without State aid was never put to the test. By the time a native government had established itself in the late 1920's, after a period of civil war and general lawlessness which followed the achievement of independence, it was in no political condition to challenge Church control of secondary education even if it had wished to do so. Nor, during the extreme economic depression of the 1930's, was the State in a financial position to erect and support, on its own resources, a comprehensive system of State schools for the whole country. Politically and economically it was expedient to leave secondary education to private enterprise. Once the obligation of the State to support private schools was enshrined in the Constitution, the continuing role of the Church in Irish education was virtually assured.

Thus the attempts by the British government to set up a system of public secondary schools in Quebec and Ireland had the opposite effect to what had been intended. Instead of weakening the influence of the Catholic Church, these efforts strengthened its influence by obliging the Church to establish an independent secondary school system which, supported by both nationalist and religious sentiments, developed outside the sphere of government influence. By the time that native governments had established themselves, the Church had already consolidated its dominant position in secondary education.

The history of the development of local responsibility for secondary education was very different in Quebec and Ireland. In Protestant Quebec such responsibility developed early, as soon as the private academies and grammar schools became integrated in the public school system. In Catholic Quebec this process proceeded much more slowly. Although

local school boards assumed considerable responsibility for the financing of public primary schools in the 1840's, secondary classes were not introduced in these schools for another eighty years. In the meantime Catholic secondary education was provided exclusively in classical colleges, free of local public control. In Ireland, on the other hand, local responsibility for primary or secondary education never developed. This may have been due, in part, to the disturbed political state of the country at the times when the primary and secondary systems had their genesis, but could no doubt also be attributed to the extreme poverty of the population in the nineteenth century, which made it impossible for them to pay school taxes.

A striking difference in educational development in Quebec and Ireland at the secondary level is seen in the relative integration of the various sectors of secondary education in both regions. In Quebec, three separate sectors--the Protestant sector, the Catholic public sector, and the Catholic private sector--developed and continued as separate entities free from State direction, while in Ireland a very close integration of Protestant and Catholic sectors was secured under a measure of State direction.

CHAPTER II

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN QUEBEC AND IRELAND

Systems of education cannot be properly viewed outside their economic and social context. Kandel, in his pioneer study of comparative education, spoke of "the forces--political, social and cultural--which determine the characteristics of national systems of education,"¹ while Hans, in his work on educational systems, listed three important factors underlying these systems--natural factors (including population and economic characteristics), secular factors (including political forces), and religious factors.² In this chapter an outline will be presented of social and economic conditions in Quebec and Ireland during the period under survey. Attention will be directed to demographic, economic, political, and religious characteristics and developments in both regions.

The Socio-Economic Background of Quebec Secondary Education

The population of the Province of Quebec was characterized by a high rate of increase, a high rate of dependency, a high and rising level

¹I. L. Kandel, *Comparative Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1933), p. xi.

²Nicholas Hans, *Comparative Education* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1950), p. 16.

of urbanization, and a high degree of linguistic and religious uniformity. In 1951 there were about four million people living in the province--four times as many as there were a century earlier.³ By 1961 the population had increased by another million and a quarter.⁴ This rapid rise in population was due to a high rate of natural increase and to the considerable immigration of the post-war years.⁵ About one-half of the population was in the dependent age groups--under 16 and over 65 years.⁶ Most of the people were French-speaking (82 per cent)⁷ and Catholic (85 per cent).⁸ While almost all those whose vernacular was French were Catholic, there was a small group of English-speaking Catholics too. Most non-Catholics professed Protestant beliefs, although there was a small Jewish community.⁹ The non-Catholic population was almost entirely English-speaking. The population was highly urbanized and was becoming even more so--67 per cent of the people lived in urban areas in 1951, but by 1961 this proportion had increased to over 74 per cent.¹⁰ The population was not distributed evenly throughout the province but was concentrated along the shores of the St. Lawrence River, particularly in the metropolitan areas of Montreal and Quebec City. In 1961, 40 per cent of the provincial population lived in metropolitan

³Quebec, Bureau of Statistics, Annuaire du Québec: Quebec Yearbook, 1963 (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1964), p. 96.

⁴Loc. cit.

⁵Ibid., p. 95.

⁶Ibid., p. 110.

⁷Quebec, Bureau of Statistics, Annuaire du Québec: Quebec Yearbook, 1961 (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1962), p. 96.

⁸Ibid., p. 89.

⁹Loc. cit.

¹⁰Quebec, Bureau of Statistics, Annuaire du Québec . . . , 1963, p. 101.

Montreal, and another 7 per cent in metropolitan Quebec.¹¹

The natural resources of Quebec were extremely valuable. Much of the province was covered by dense forests which supplied the lumber and paper industries, the abundant and varied supply of minerals was only beginning to be exploited, and the province had considerable potential for the development of hydro-electric power. In addition, the situation of Quebec at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River enabled it to profit from the important trade of the rich Canadian and American hinterland.

The Quebec economy underwent profound transformation after the First World War when it began to experience rapid industrialization. With the growth of industry and the consequent movement of the population to urban centres the relative importance of agriculture declined, so that it lost the dominant position it had held in the nineteenth century. Economic growth continued at an accelerated pace after the Second World War, but expansion was now felt mainly in the tertiary, or services, sector of the economy rather than in the secondary, or manufacturing, sector. Between 1951 and 1961 the labor force employed in the tertiary sector increased by 40 per cent until in 1961 over half of the Quebec labor force was engaged in this sector while 33 per cent and 11 per cent were employed in the secondary and primary sectors respectively.¹² Contributing to the relative preponderance of the tertiary sector was the increased mechanization and automation of such industries as agriculture, lumbering, mining, and of manufacturing itself.¹³ The mechanization of the primary and secondary

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 107 - 108,

¹² Marcel Daneau, "Évolution économique du Québec, 1950 - 1965," L'Actualité Économique, XLI, (janvier-mars, 1966), 672.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 670 - 672.

sectors, coupled with the high birth rates of the war years, served to create acute unemployment problems in Quebec.¹⁴ The prospects were that the situation would become much worse, since between 1954 and 1961 the level of unemployment showed a marked upward trend, from an average of 5.8 per cent of the labor force in 1954 - 1957 to an average of 8.8 per cent in 1957 - 1961.¹⁵ Young unskilled workers and older workers were particularly affected.¹⁶ The tertiary sector of the economy--the only sector which afforded some prospect of relieving the crisis--demanded education at the secondary and higher levels to which not only the unemployed, but much of the general labor force in Quebec, had not attained.¹⁷

Besides unemployment, another disturbing aspect of economic expansion in the province was that its fruits were so unevenly distributed ethnically. The French-speaking population was conscious of the fact that the English-speaking population on the whole enjoyed a higher standard of living. French Canadians have always been sensitive to the Anglo-Saxon taunt that they were but "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for their English masters. Mason Wade notes that this sensitivity increases with unemployment.¹⁸ Certainly the relative deprivation of the French population was well-publicized during the 1953 - 1963 period. Professor John Porter's study of the Canadian economic elite strikingly illustrated the scarcity of French-speaking Canadians at this level. Of 760 leaders

¹⁴Ibid., p. 663.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 662.

¹⁶Loc. cit.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 673 - 674.

¹⁸Mason Wade, The French Canadians, 1760 - 1945, pp. 865, 901.

investigated, he found that only 6.7 per cent could be classified as French Canadians, although French Canadians formed roughly one-third of the Canadian population.¹⁹ Moreover, French Canadians were concentrated in the Province of Quebec, which in 1956 accounted for 25 per cent of the value of Canadian production.²⁰ At the lower levels of industry the findings of the 1951 Canadian Census indicated a somewhat similar situation. French Canadians in Quebec were poorly represented in proprietary and managerial occupations, in the professions (except for the priesthood and teaching) and in clerical positions. They were extensively employed, however, as truck drivers, teamsters, long-shoremen, loggers, carpenters, and farm laborers.²¹ Such facts lent substance to the claims of those who asserted that "Our Fatherland of Quebec is occupied politically and economically by the conqueror of 1760."²² Marcel Chaput, a political separatist, called attention to what he saw as the "second-class citizenship" of French Canadians who, at the bottom of the economic ladder, were most exposed to the hardships of unemployment.²³ He attributed the low social status of French

¹⁹ John Porter, "The Economic Elite and the Social Structure in Canada," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, XXIII, 3 (August, 1957), 386.

²⁰ Quebec, Bureau of Statistics, Annuaire Statistique: Statistical Yearbook, 1961 (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1962), p. 296.

²¹ Nathan Keyfitz, "Some Demographic Aspects of French-English Relations in Canada," ed. Mason Wade, Canadian Dualism: Studies of French-English Relations (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), pp. 139-142.

²² Raymond Barbeau, J'Ai Choisi l'Indépendance (Montréal: Les Éditions de l'Homme, 1961), p. 114.

²³ Marcel Chaput, Pourquoi Je Suis Séparatiste (6th ed., Montréal: Les Éditions du Jour, 1961), p. 47.

Canadians to the numerical, economic, and political advantages of English Canadians within Canadian Confederation,²⁴ and proposed as a solution that Quebec, "the national State" of the "French-Canadian nation," should withdraw from Confederation and constitute itself a separate country where the French-speaking population could be "maîtres chez eux."²⁵ The demand for the book in which Chaput expressed these ideas--over 35,000 copies were sold in the first year--indicates more than a limited interest in such matters as French-Canadian dependence and independence.

Much of the industrial progress and resource development of the Province of Quebec had been undertaken under the provincial premiership of Mr. Maurice Duplessis.²⁶ Duplessis, backed by his powerful Union Nationale party, had dominated Quebec politics almost continually since 1936 when he first took office. His rule was a highly personal one,²⁷ and was based largely on the skilful use of political patronage,²⁸ on substantial party funds donated by grateful business enterprises,²⁹ on the exploitation of nationalist feeling in Quebec through frequent clashes with the federal government of Canada,³⁰ and on an assiduous cultivation of the rural vote which, because of tardy electoral redistribution, was still very influential.³¹ He encouraged the growth of industry

²⁴Loc. cit.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 11, 144 - 148.

²⁶Herbert F. Quinn, The Union Nationale: a Study in Quebec Nationalism (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 81.

²⁷Ibid., p. 76.

²⁸Ibid., pp. 132 - 140.

²⁹Ibid., p. 140.

³⁰Ibid., pp. 114 - 119.

³¹Ibid., p. 79.

and attracted considerable investment to the province by granting generous concessions to outside corporations which set up operations in Quebec.³² A favorable climate for foreign investment and entrepreneurial activity was maintained by labor legislation, which favored the business interests,³³ by an unwillingness on the part of the State to expand costly social services,³⁴ and by a general policy of economic liberalism in which the function of government was not to regulate or control private enterprise but to encourage and cooperate with it in every way.³⁵

The Catholic Church, which had always been extremely influential in Quebec life, viewed the process of industrialization and urbanization in the province with some trepidation. The foundations of its influence had lain in the country parish, where the curé, himself of rural origin, guided parishioners whom he knew and understood intimately. The exodus of the population to the anonymity of the cities was eroding these foundations. Besides, the Church was concerned with the spiritual welfare of those who were leaving the ideal life of the farm for the materialistic Babylon of city life.³⁶ As the process of urbanization progressed, a number of clergymen began to stress the need for a change on the part of the Church in Quebec away from its traditional cultivation of the political and economic elites and towards a greater involvement in the affairs of the urban working classes.³⁷ The new orientation found expression at

³²Ibid., p. 81

³³Ibid., p. 82.

³⁴Ibid., p. 84.

³⁵Ibid., p. 76.

³⁶Samuel H. Barnes, "Quebec Catholicism and Social Change," The Review of Politics, XXIII, 1 (January, 1961), pp. 52 - 54.

³⁷Ibid., pp. 63 - 67.

the highest level in a pastoral letter issued by the Quebec bishops in 1950 which expressed anxiety over the economic insecurity of so many workers and the inequitable manner in which the wealth of the province was being distributed.³⁸ One commentator saw this letter as the most important social document in the history of the province and claimed that it revealed a change of attitude on the part of the bishops away from a rural-centered to an urban-centered outlook.³⁹ The dissatisfaction of many clergy with the social and economic policies of the Duplessis government grew during the 1950's, and found expression even in conservative Church publications.⁴⁰ It would, however, be an oversimplification to say that such dissatisfaction was general. The Catholic Church is no more monolithic in Quebec than elsewhere, but contains laymen and clergy of very different and opposite views, and there is no doubt that the policies of the Duplessis government still found some support among the clergy.⁴¹

The long political rule of Mr. Duplessis ended in his death in September 1959--less than a year before his government was required to seek re-election. His place as premier was taken by his leading assistant, Mr. Paul Sauvé. Sauvé was a respected figure who immediately announced himself in favor of certain social reforms, and began

³⁸Quinn, op. cit., p. 163.

³⁹Jacques Cousineau, "Commentaires: Orientations de la Pensée sociale," ed. Jean-C. Falardeau, Essais sur le Québec contemporain (Québec: Les Presses universitaires Laval, 1953), pp. 209 - 211.

⁴⁰Quinn, op. cit., p. 165.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 167.

to prepare his party for the elections.⁴² The Union Nationale party was thrown into confusion by his death three months later. A struggle for leadership ensued, from which emerged a compromise choice, Mr. Antonio Barrette.⁴³

In the election campaign which followed, Mr. Barrette promised to pursue the policies of his predecessors in the Union Nationale party.⁴⁴ Mr. Jean Lesage, the new leader of the Opposition, emphasized the urgent need for social reforms, including an extensive programme of social, labor, and educational legislation.⁴⁵ His programme also included a very significant project which was entirely at variance with the laissez-faire spirit of earlier economic policy in the province. This project involved the creation of an Economic Planning and Development Council which would provide the government with a programme for economic development designed to reduce unemployment, to improve general living standards, and to exploit the resources of the province so that they would primarily benefit the people of Quebec.⁴⁶ The programme stated:

The general improvement in living conditions which should result from an expanding economy, will continue to pass us by, so long as we fail to exercise adequate control and sound management. . . . Scientific developments no longer permit government by improvisation.⁴⁷

The Liberal party of Mr. Lesage won the election by the fairly narrow margin of eleven seats. Under the premiership of Mr. Lesage,

⁴²Ibid., pp. 176 - 177.

⁴³Ibid., p. 177.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 179.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 180 - 181.

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 226 - 228.

⁴⁷1960 Political Manifesto of the Quebec Liberal Party, p. 9, quoted in Quinn, op. cit., p. 181.

the government at once set about implementing its election programme. Lesage, as premier, continued to stress the need for rational planning as a means to economic expansion,⁴⁸ and also emphasized the necessity for an intense effort in the field of education in order to ensure the most effective use of human capital in promoting economic growth.⁴⁹ He saw economic development to be necessary not only for the raising of living standards but also for national survival--"la permanence du fait français en Amérique."⁵⁰

The Socio-Economic Background of Irish Secondary Education

The population of Ireland in 1953 was almost three million. Outside the few cities, which contained about one-third of the population, the people were distributed thinly throughout the country. An unusual feature of the rural population density was that it tended to be lower in fertile areas and higher in relatively infertile areas, where the inhabitants were frequently crowded on small holdings.⁵¹ The people were almost entirely Catholic--in 1946, over 94 per cent were.⁵² The religious minority consisted mainly of members of a few Protestant denominations and a small number of Jews. The population was almost completely English-

⁴⁸ Jean Lesage, Un Québec fort dans une nouvelle Confédération (Québec: Office d'Information et de Publicité, 1965), p. 12. This book contains passages from a number of speeches made by Mr. Lesage between 1961 and 1964.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 18 - 19.

⁵⁰ Loc. cit.

⁵¹ David O'Mahony, The Irish Economy: an Introductory Description (Cork: Cork University Press, 1962), p. 3.

⁵² Ireland, Central Statistics Office, Statistical Abstract of Ireland, 1957 (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1957), p. 53.

speaking. Along the west coast there were a few scattered enclaves where a small and diminishing proportion of the population still spoke Irish as the vernacular. It has been estimated that not more than 75,000 native Irish speakers lived in these areas in 1956.⁵³ While the population of Ireland was mainly rural, there was a tendency towards urbanization--in 1951 only 43 per cent of the population lived in towns with over one thousand inhabitants,⁵⁴ but 48 per cent did so by 1961.⁵⁵ This process of urbanization was somewhat unusual and artificial, and might, perhaps, be termed "urbanization by default," for the relative size of the urban population was increasing not because of a great influx from the countryside to the towns but because of the emigration from rural areas to Great Britain.⁵⁶

Ireland was almost unique among the countries of the world in that its population had been steadily declining for over a century. This was due to an unusually high net emigration which had regularly exceeded the natural increase of the population ever since the Great Famine of 1845 - 1848,⁵⁷ when the population of what is now the Republic of Ireland had been close to seven million.⁵⁸ In the intercensal period 1951 - 1961,

⁵³Ireland, An Coimisiún um Athbheochan na Gaeilge: an Tuarascáil Deiridh [The Commission for the Revival of the Irish Language: the Final Report] (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1963), p. 7.

⁵⁴Ireland, Central Statistics Office, Census of Population of Ireland, 1951 (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1952) I, 142 - 149.

⁵⁵Ireland, Central Statistics Office, Census of Population of Ireland, 1961 (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1963), I, 146 - 152.

⁵⁶O'Mahony, op. cit., pp. 8 - 9. ⁵⁷Ibid., p. 3.

⁵⁸Ireland, Central Statistics Office, Statistical Abstract of Ireland, 1963 (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1963), p. 27.

during which the population of the country fell by a further 5 per cent,⁵⁹ the average volume of net emigration was over 40,000 a year.⁶⁰ Emigration was mainly from rural areas and, since the 1930's, was directed almost exclusively to Great Britain, where Irish nationals were accepted without restriction or formality.⁶¹ They generally found ready employment, although mainly at the less skilled levels of the labor force.⁶² The tendency of emigration to be confined primarily to younger people resulted in an ageing population in which the proportion in the active age group grew relatively small, and that in the dependent age groups correspondingly large.⁶³ In 1956, about 40 per cent of the population was under fifteen and over sixty-five years of age.⁶⁴

Ireland has few natural resources other than the quality of its grazing lands and the mild nature of its climate, and has none of major significance for industry. The economy of the country in 1953 was based on the agricultural sector, which in that year contributed 29 per cent of the national income⁶⁵ and employed about 40 per cent of the labor force.⁶⁶

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 20.

⁶⁰O'Mahony, op. cit., p. 4.

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 4 - 6.

⁶²Ireland, Commission on Emigration and other Population Problems, Reports (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1955), p. 105.

⁶³O'Mahony, op. cit., p. 9.

⁶⁴Ireland, Statistical Abstract . . ., 1963, p. 27.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 267.

⁶⁶O'Mahony, op. cit., p. 20.

Agriculture was based for the most part on small or medium-sized farms which were devoted chiefly to the production of livestock and their products.⁶⁷ The primary sector was, however, gradually yielding in importance to the secondary sector--whereas, in 1953, industry contributed only 26 per cent of the national income, by 1963 its share had increased to 31 per cent while that of agriculture had declined to 21 per cent.⁶⁸ Employment in industry increased during that time, while that in agriculture declined.⁶⁹ Industrial establishments in Ireland were generally very small--two-thirds of them employed no more than twenty people, and in these productivity was low. The few really large establishments contributed far more than their expected share to the total industrial output.⁷⁰ In the tertiary sector of the economy, a considerable portion of the labor force was engaged in the retail trade, under conditions highly suggestive of disguised unemployment. In 1956, there were 110,000 persons engaged in 40,000 retail shops--each of which served an average of seventy people. These establishments were mostly owned by individuals or partners, and most had very small sales --9 per cent sold less than fifteen dollars' worth of goods a week.⁷¹ The economy of the country was closely tied to that of Great Britain, which took two-thirds of Ireland's exports--mainly cattle and dairy products--

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 28.

⁶⁸Ireland, Statistical Abstract . . ., 1963, p. 267.

⁶⁹O'Mahony, op. cit., p. 20; O. E. C. D., Economic Surveys, Ireland (Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1965), p. 26.

⁷⁰O'Mahony, op. cit., pp. 31 - 32.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 33.

and provided half of Ireland's imports, between 1958 and 1960⁷²

In 1953 the Irish government was headed by Prime Minister Eamonn de Valera, who had been a leading figure in the struggle for national independence and had been a dominant figure in Irish politics afterwards. He had been prime minister almost continuously since 1932. His long administration had been characterized by strongly protectionist economic policies.⁷³ These were derived in part from the policy of national self-sufficiency advocated by leaders of the Sinn Fein movement before independence was achieved. A bitter tariff war with Great Britain in the 1930's, and the economic difficulties which arose during the Second World War, confirmed de Valera in these policies which aimed to replace imports as far as possible by domestic production and thus secure economic as well as political independence. Protected by a high wall of tariffs and by quota restrictions, a number of small industrial enterprises developed. There was little incentive to efficiency or good management since many of the enterprises enjoyed virtual monopolies, and there was always the fear that a business would lose its protection and subsidies if it were to show a substantial profit.⁷⁴ Foreign investment in Irish industry was regarded as a threat of foreign domination, and was discouraged by regulations which imposed limits on the proportion of company stock which could be held by non-nationals.

⁷²Ibid., p. 114.

⁷³Garrett Fitzgerald, "Industry in Ireland," ed. Michael Gorman, Ireland by the Irish (London: Galley Press, 1963), p. 49.

⁷⁴Brian Inglis, The Story of Ireland (London: Faber and Faber, 1956), pp. 223 - 224.

Under these isolationist and introverted conditions Irish industry was in a far from healthy state. Between 1953 and 1955, the economy grew at a sluggish pace of less than 2 per cent a year.⁷⁵ Unemployment reached a very high level, emigration quickened, and a series of balance of payments deficits precipitated an economic crisis in 1955.⁷⁶ Efforts aimed at restricting credit and reducing consumption only led to a decrease in investment and a reversal of what had been a sluggish forward growth, so that between 1956 and 1958 the national product was actually reduced by 4 per cent.⁷⁷ The sense of crisis was heightened when the statistics of the 1956 census were published, revealing the lowest population in the history of Irish census-taking, and the highest emigration rate in seventy years.

In the meantime, in 1957, the European Economic Community had been established on the Continent, and was experiencing considerable success through the gradual implementation of a free trade policy behind tariff walls which protected the industry and agriculture of the joint member-states. Britain had at first held aloof, but was soon eager to enter what appeared to be a most lucrative, if competitive, market. Since Ireland was bound to Britain by strong economic ties, if Britain were to join the E. E. C., then Ireland must too. But in 1958 Ireland was experiencing considerable difficulty in preserving a viable economy even with the help of tariffs. It was clearly in no condition to compete

⁷⁵O. E. C. D., Economic Surveys, Ireland (Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1962), p. 27.

⁷⁶O'Mahony, op. cit., p. 171.

⁷⁷O. E. C. D., Economic Surveys, Ireland (Paris: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1962), p. 27.

in a free trade area.

This period of economic crisis led to a fundamental re-appraisal of the country's traditional economic policies.⁷⁸ In 1956 an advisory committee was appointed which recommended that productive investment should be increased in the public sector, and urged that a programme of economic development be prepared in order to discover and implement productive investments.⁷⁹ The Secretary of the Department of Finance, Mr. T. K. Whitaker, was requested by the government to undertake a survey of the economic situation and to recommend remedial measures. In his report, published in 1958, Whitaker recommended that in view of the failure of protectionism, this policy should be abandoned.⁸⁰ He felt that, in order to achieve higher living standards and reduced emigration, the challenge of free trade with Europe must be accepted when the opportunity presented itself. This could only be undertaken on a revitalized and robust economy.⁸¹ The requisite increase in efficiency and output could, in Whitaker's opinion, be achieved only through an integrated development programme which would coordinate and direct financial and economic policy towards the development of industry and agriculture with a view to increasing exports.⁸² Protective tariffs and restrictive practices must go, and

⁷⁸O'Mahony, op. cit., p. 171.

⁷⁹Loc. cit.

⁸⁰Ireland, Department of Finance, Economic Development (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1958), p. 2.

⁸¹Loc. cit.

⁸²Ireland, Department of Finance, op. cit., pp. 4 - 6.

foreign capital and industrialists must be enticed and welcomed, since they would bring with them the techniques and expertise essential for competition in a free trade area.⁸³

Late in 1958 the Irish government produced a five-year programme for economic expansion based on the Whitaker recommendations. It was forecast that the implementation of the plan would result in an annual economic growth increase of 2 per cent.⁸⁴ Shortly afterwards Mr. de Valera, incapacitated by increasing blindness, retired from politics to accept the Presidency of Ireland--a largely ceremonial position. The implementation of the economic programme was left to his successor, Prime Minister Sean Lemass, who had been the chief architect of the earlier protectionist policies.

The programme was pursued with energy under the direction of Lemass. Extremely generous concessions, grants, loans, and tax exemptions offered to firms prepared to concentrate on the export market succeeded in inducing a very large number of foreign corporations to set up industrial plants in Ireland.⁸⁵ It was found, however, that in the case of some firms the lack of local skilled labor and of training facilities were adversely affecting production. The State was obliged to make grants available to industrial concerns for the training of young Irish

⁸³Loc. cit.

⁸⁴Ireland, Programme for Economic Expansion (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1958), p. 48.

⁸⁵The Economist, 202 (March 17, 1962), p. 1002.

workers on the Continent.⁸⁶ Some resentment was also caused by the influx of wealthy foreigners, especially from the European Continent, who were paying high prices for residential sites in the more scenic parts of the country and imposing restrictions on the enjoyment of these areas by the indigenous population.⁸⁷

The programme proved to be a considerable success--although of course, it would be rash to credit the programme alone with the progress made while it was in operation. By 1963, when the programme terminated, agricultural and industrial output had risen, exports had gained over imports, unemployment had dropped steadily, the gross national product had increased at a rate of over 4 per cent a year, and--perhaps the most notable development--emigration declined, until in 1962 the chronic excess of emigration over natural increase came to an end and the population of the country increased slightly.⁸⁸

In August 1963 the Irish government launched a second programme designed to continue economic expansion at an even more rapid pace. This was a seven-year programme and envisaged Ireland's entry into the European Economic Community before the programme had concluded.⁸⁹ An important feature of this programme was the prominence it gave to education as a factor for its success. While the first programme

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 1009.

⁸⁷The Round Table, 209 (December 1962), pp. 69 - 70.

⁸⁸O. E. C. D. Economic Surveys, Ireland (Paris: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1964), pp. 6 - 8.

⁸⁹Ireland, Second Programme for Economic Expansion (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1963), p. 10.

had acknowledged the significance of education for economic development, it had dealt only with agricultural and technical training in its proposals for education.⁹⁰ The second programme, however, saw the expansion of general education as well as of technical training as an integral part of social and economic advance, and gave special attention to its incorporation as a necessary feature of the programme.⁹¹ On the grounds that "our wealth lies ultimately in our people," the programme stressed that "the aim of educational policy must be to enable all individuals to realize their full potential as human persons."⁹² The programme drew attention to the complementary nature of the relationships between education and economics when it stated:

The increased production which is a major aim of the second programme will provide the resources for educational improvement. Better education and training will support and stimulate continued economic expansion. Even the economic returns from investment in education and training are likely to be as high in the long run as those from investment in physical capital.⁹³

Relations between the Catholic Church and the State in Ireland since independence have on the whole been cordial, but detached. The Constitution of 1937 pledged to respect and honour religion, and recognized the special position of the Catholic Church in Ireland "as the guardian of the Faith professed by the great majority of its citizens."⁹⁴ Nevertheless, it also recognized the other religions in the country at the time,

⁹⁰Ireland, Programme for Economic Expansion, pp. 23 - 24, 39.

⁹¹Ireland, Second Programme for Economic Expansion, pp. 13 - 15.

⁹²Ibid., p. 13.

⁹³Loc. cit.

⁹⁴Ireland, Bunreacht na hEireann: Constitution of Ireland (Dublin: Stationery Office, n.d.), p. 144.

and guaranteed freedom of conscience and religious practice to all.⁹⁵
It also guaranteed not to endow any religion, nor to discriminate
between religious denominations in the allocation of State aid to schools,
or otherwise.⁹⁶

There have been instances, however, of clashes between members of the Catholic hierarchy and the government. These differences have generally been related to the introduction of social legislation to which the bishops objected.⁹⁷ In educational matters, such disputes have arisen mainly in connection with parliamentary proposals to remove some of the administrative functions of the clerical managers of National Schools, or to consolidate educational institutions at the primary level. Such proposals have always met with opposition from Catholic prelates, and the State has expressed its unwillingness to take steps of this nature without their approval.⁹⁸

Irish Catholic Church leaders have not been active in promoting significant social reforms. Sean O Faolain, a penetrating observer of Irish life, speaks of the traditional reluctance of the Irish clergyman "to commit himself in any earthly fight,"⁹⁹ and maintains that he "comes out from his cautious seclusion only when he finds the flood in full spate around him."¹⁰⁰ He warns the enthusiastic reformer that "the Church

⁹⁵Loc. cit.

⁹⁶Loc. cit.

⁹⁷Brian Inglis, op. cit., p. 236.

⁹⁸John Mescal, Religion in the Irish System of Education (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds, 1957), p. 72.

⁹⁹Sean O Faolain, The Irish: a Character Study (New York: Devin Adair, 1949), p. 147.

¹⁰⁰Loc. cit.

in Ireland will, like Lord Chesterfield to Dr. Johnson, throw him a rope only when he is on dry land."¹⁰¹ Certainly the Irish clergy in the decade under study gave little public evidence of concern with social conditions in the country.

A Comparison of the Socio-Economic Backgrounds of Secondary Education in Quebec and Ireland

During the period 1953 to 1963 a change in political leadership in Quebec and in Ireland was marked by a distinct emphasis placed at the government level on the promotion of planned economic growth. Such growth was viewed in both regions as the solution to pressing social as well as economic problems. In Quebec, increased prosperity was seen as a means of alleviating chronic and growing unemployment, and of improving the social and economic status of the French-speaking population relative to that of the English-speaking population of the province. In Ireland, economic development was promoted to solve acute balance of payments difficulties, to reduce emigration by creating employment opportunities at home, and to strengthen the national economy for competition in a free trade area.

Economic growth is the product of factors which may be predominantly economic or predominantly social, but which are closely inter-related.¹⁰² While Professor Ragnar Nurkse sees economic output as a function of a number of economic variables,¹⁰³ Professor Neil Smelser

¹⁰¹ Loc. cit., p. 148.

¹⁰² Wilbert E. Moore, Economy and Society (New York: Doubleday, 1955), pp. 1 - 6.

¹⁰³ Ragnar Nurkse, Problems of Capital Formation in Under-developed Countries (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962), pp. 4 - 31.

demonstrates that these variables are in turn partly determined by social factors.¹⁰⁴ Professor Arthur Lewis emphasizes the role of social forces in economic growth when he states that growth is the result of human effort, occurring chiefly in societies where men watch for the economic chance and are willing to make the necessary effort to seize it. This "will to economize," as Lewis puts it, stems largely from the social environment and accounts significantly for the differences between advanced and lagging economies.¹⁰⁵ In the case of Ireland and Quebec, although government efforts were directed towards the common goal of rapid economic progress, it appeared that the economic and social factors conducive to this were present to a far greater extent in Quebec than in Ireland.

The extensive natural resources of Quebec, especially its forests, minerals and water resources, presented a far greater opportunity for development and exploitation and for the further growth of industry than did Ireland's only significant natural resource, its rich grasslands.

Professor Albert Hirschman seems to imply that the facility with which an economy advances is a function of its present state of development when he says:

An economy secretes abilities, skills and attitudes needed for further development roughly in proportion to the size of the sector

¹⁰⁴ Neil J. Smelser, The Sociology of Economic Life (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1963), pp. 103 - 105.

¹⁰⁵ W. Arthur Lewis, The Theory of Economic Growth (Homewood, Ills.: Irwin, 1955), p. 23.

where these abilities are already required and where these attitudes are being inculcated. . . . The ability to promote new enterprises, and to enlist cooperation for this purpose, the ability to perceive new opportunities and to act on them, may, in a first approximation, be similarly related to their actual breeding ground.¹⁰⁶

Colin Clark places nations on a development continuum according to the predominance of their primary, secondary or tertiary sectors. He maintains that as a country makes economic progress the proportion of people engaged in primary industry declines while that in secondary industry increases, until the proportion in secondary industry reaches a maximum, after which it declines relative to the proportion engaged in tertiary industry.¹⁰⁷ Clark notes:

Accompanying these industrial changes are substantial occupational and social changes, leading to a gradual elimination of the manual worker, particularly the unskilled, and the rapid growth of the numbers of clerical and professional workers.¹⁰⁸

According to Clark's generalization, Quebec, in which the primary and secondary sectors of the economy had yielded in importance to the tertiary sector, was in a far more advanced economic state than Ireland, where the secondary sector was only beginning to supplant the primary sector and the tertiary sector employed large numbers who could probably be employed elsewhere without adversely affecting the output of that sector. If Hirschman's statement is applied to this situation, the prospects of Quebec's accelerating its economic progress seem much more sanguine

¹⁰⁶ Albert O. Hirschman, The Strategy of Economic Development (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), p. 36.

¹⁰⁷ Colin Clark, The Conditions of Economic Progress (London: Macmillan, 1940), p. 7.

¹⁰⁸ Loc. cit.

than Ireland's.

In addition to economic factors, social factors also appeared to favor the economic advance of Quebec over that of Ireland. Several economists have stressed the role of social conflict as a motivating force in economic development. Walt Rostow refers to "xenophobic nationalism" and competition between elites as stimulants of economic growth;¹⁰⁹ Everett Hagen¹¹⁰ and Bert Hoselitz¹¹¹ see the deviance of certain groups as conducive to social and economic change; Joseph Schumpeter describes the crucial role of the entrepreneur in braving the reaction of a social environment hostile to change,¹¹² and Albert Hirschman maintains that "tensions, disproportions, and disequilibria" are necessary to keep an economy moving ahead.¹¹³ Stresses of this nature, which had potentiality for economic progress, were more evident within the society of Quebec than within that of Ireland.

The histories of Quebec and Ireland saw the conquest of indigenous populations by minorities of different language and religion who attempted the cultural assimilation of the conquered groups. Religion and language thus became associated with nationalism in both regions

¹⁰⁹W. W. Rostow, The Stages of Economic Growth: a Non-Communist Manifesto (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), pp. 28, 51.

¹¹⁰Everett E. Hagen, On the Theory of Social Change (Homewood, Ills.: Dorsey, 1962), pp. 240 - 242.

¹¹¹Bert Hoselitz, Sociological Aspects of Economic Growth (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1960), p. 46.

¹¹²Joseph A. Schumpeter, The Theory of Economic Development (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 79 - 92.

¹¹³Hirschman, op. cit., p. 68.

and prevented the integration of majority and minority long after active hostilities had ceased. In Quebec, the industrialization of the province by English-speaking interests from within and without the province had given the advantage to the English-speaking Protestant minority. Thus, religious and linguistic differences between the majority and minority in Quebec were augmented by a difference of economic status. The French-speaking majority saw itself occupying the lower echelons of Quebec's economic hierarchy while the English-speaking minority held the positions of command. The potency of the consequent demonstration effect was heightened by the rapid urbanization of the population which brought the relatively deprived majority into close contact with the affluent minority. This propinquity raised the levels of aspiration of the French-speaking majority, so that, as a Quebec sociologist put it, "if French Canadians were, in the past, reputedly less socially ambitious and mobile than the rest of North America, they are now at the other extreme."¹¹⁴ The increased prosperity of the province as a whole, and the public services to which this prosperity could give rise, were seen as means towards the raising of the living standards of the French-speaking majority, and of increasing their upward mobility. In Ireland, on the other hand, pronounced social and ethnic differences did not continue into the mid-twentieth century, since the different ethnic and religious groups eventually came to speak the same language, and the industrialization and urbanization of the country never reached an

¹¹⁴Jean-Charles Falardeau, "The Changing Social Structures of Contemporary French-Canadian Society," ed. Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin, French Canadian Society (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964), I, 119.

advanced state. It is of interest to note, however, that when foreign industries were introduced to Ireland after 1960, some of the problems which were marked in Quebec began to appear in minor form in Ireland, too. Nevertheless, the powerful incentive to economic growth which was generated by inter-group rivalry in Quebec did not have a parallel in Ireland.

Another cause of disparity in the degree of economic motivation in Quebec and Ireland was the difference between population trends in those regions. The population of Quebec quadrupled while that of Ireland fell by one half in the course of a century. The difference between a rising population and a falling one was most significant for social and economic conditions in Quebec and Ireland. Where a country is not overpopulated a rising population poses no major problem. A growing demand for goods and services leads to increased production and investment, which in turn result in more employment, a growing national product, and a general sense of optimism.¹¹⁵ When this growth of population derives partly from an influx of skilled immigrants the advantages are increased. These immigrants have been trained and educated while at a dependent age, at no cost to the host country. When they enter the host country they swell the ranks of the active population, perhaps bringing with them, along with their skills, valuable innovative ideas gained elsewhere. This was the situation which prevailed in Quebec. In Ireland a very different picture presented itself. Here the population was in steady decline because of high and continued emigration. As the population fell

¹¹⁵David O'Mahony, The Irish Economy: An Introductory Description (Cork: Cork University Press, 1964), p. 13.

so did the demand for goods and services. Production and employment were adversely affected and this led to further emigration.¹¹⁶ Linked to this vicious circle was what an Irish commission described as "a psychological and economic malaise,"¹¹⁷ with a general sense of pessimism in the business world, and an apathetic attitude towards expansion, experimentation, and innovation. The emigrants, mostly young people, were bringing with them to a foreign country what education and training they had received at the expense of their native country. Their leaving depleted the active part of the population, and left the burden of providing social services, such as education, on fewer shoulders. An expansion of such services would be viewed, perhaps not unnaturally, with reticence by the government of a country with a dwindling population--unless it could be demonstrated that such an expansion might break the vicious spiral of emigration, decreased demand, decreased production, decreased employment, and further emigration. Ireland, unlike Quebec, was thus deprived of what Hirschman considered to be an inducement mechanism for economic development--population pressure on living standards which leads to community counterpressure designed to maintain or increase the standard of living.¹¹⁸ That the Irish were aware of this is evidenced in the report of a commission which studied the problem of emigration:

It is relevant to consider whether emigration has been so convenient an outlet for population that it explains the absence of that

¹¹⁶ Loc. cit.

¹¹⁷ Ireland, Commission on Emigration, op. cit., p. 182.

¹¹⁸ Hirschman, op. cit., pp. 176 - 177.

sense of urgent necessity to develop resources rapidly and resolutely which would have arisen if the pressure of an increasing population were operating to force the pace of development. If that outlet did not exist, the country would have been compelled to resort to intensive development, or else would have been faced with either a falling standard of living or a substantial decline in the numbers of marriages and births. It seems a reasonable presumption that in such circumstances, the will to make greater use of natural resources would have been more eagerly sought after. Instead, the ready outlet of emigration has provided the remaining population with a reasonably satisfying standard of living and this has been responsible for an acquiescence in conditions of under-development which are capable of considerable improvement. The absence, over the country as a whole, of severe population pressure on resources has failed to establish the need for drastic action, and has made the need for full development of our economic resources less compelling.¹¹⁹

The clergy of the Catholic Church in Quebec showed a greater concern over the social and economic welfare of the working classes than did the Catholic clergy in Ireland. This may be accounted for to some extent by the rapid growth of the urban population in Quebec which was not paralleled in Ireland. The Church in Ireland was not challenged on its own ground, as it was in Quebec, by the threat of the secularization of urban Catholic industrial masses and their exploitation by a minority of different religious beliefs. The Irish peasant did not move to the local cities, as the peasant did in Quebec, but to the cities of Britain where he became the prime responsibility of the clergy in that country. The general detachment of the Irish clergy from the more material problems of the country neutralized a powerful force which, if harnessed to a drive for economic progress, might be expected to advance it significantly. In Quebec, however, the Church demonstrated a willingness to play a positive role in alleviating the relative economic and social deprivation of the Catholic population.

¹¹⁹Ireland, Commission on Emigration . . . , op. cit., p. 139.

The differences in the economic potential and social motivation for economic progress outlined above have considerable significance for the promotion of education in Quebec and Ireland. Firstly, the amount of a nation's resources that can be devoted to education is limited by the extent of that nation's total resources. Where the total resources are considerable, educational development may be fostered to an extent not possible where resources are few. Secondly, if a society is convinced that education is a sine qua non of economic development, the relative dedication of that society to the task of economic development will be reflected in its educational efforts. If a society sees the improvement of its economic situation as urgent and vital it can be expected to promote education even if this calls for sacrifice and effort. If on the other hand a society is apathetic or unconvinced of the critical nature of its situation, it cannot be expected to undertake such effort and sacrifice with determination and enthusiasm.

CHAPTER III

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN QUEBEC, 1953

Organization, Administration, and Finance

Organization

The organization of State-supported secondary education in Quebec in 1953 was extremely complex. Educational institutions differed according to ownership and control, according to the religious views of those who attended them, according to the language of instruction used in them, and according to the nature of the curriculum taught in them. Thus an institution might be owned and controlled by public authorities or by private groups, might be attended by Catholics or by non-Catholics, might be conducted in French or in English, and might provide a non-classical curriculum prescribed by the provincial education authorities or a classical curriculum approved by the Catholic universities of the province. On the basis of these distinctions, the following types of State-subsidized institutions offering secondary education might be identified--public schools, which might be French-Catholic, English-Catholic, or Protestant, and private schools, which might be French-Catholic classical, French-Catholic non-classical, English-Catholic, or Protestant.

Because of conceptual and statistical difficulties which have made a precise analysis virtually impossible, this investigator will

present what is only an approximate analysis of the relative significance of the various types of institutions in the provision of State-subsidized secondary education in Quebec in 1953.¹

Of approximately 680,000 individuals between ten and nineteen years of age in the province of Quebec in 1953,² about 107,400, or 15.7 per cent, attended secondary schools in receipt of State funds. Of these students, 80,200, or 75 per cent, were in public schools, while 27,200, or 25 per cent, were in private schools. Of the total enrolment, 58,000 students, or 54 per cent of the total, were in French-Catholic public schools;³ 5,200, or less than 5 per cent were in English-Catholic public schools;⁴ 17,000, or 16 per cent, were in Protestant schools.⁵ French-

¹ Difficulties were encountered in the calculation of enrolments in private schools. Enrolment figures for schools not administered by school boards were given in official reports but, in the case of English-Catholic schools and Protestant schools of this nature, no distinction was made between the enrolments in those schools which were subsidized by the State and those which were not. The enrolment figures for Protestant schools combined those of public and private schools. While the total enrolment for private schools was given elsewhere in the report, no distinctions were made between elementary and secondary levels in these schools. Accordingly the investigator may have overestimated the enrolment in English-Catholic private schools, and in Protestant public and private schools combined. Since the total enrolment in English-Catholic and Protestant schools not administered by school boards was, however, very small, it is unlikely that the error is significant.

² Quebec, Annuaire Statistique, 1958 (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1959), p. 80.

³ Quebec, Report of the Superintendent of Education, 1953 - 1954 (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1955), p. 68.

⁴ Ibid., p. 116.

⁵ Ibid., p. 149.

Catholic private classical colleges enrolled 10,500, or 10 per cent of the total;⁶ French-Catholic private non-classical schools enrolled 16,200, or 15 per cent;⁷ while English-Catholic private schools enrolled only about 500 students, or less than 1 per cent.⁸

Administration

Public schools. --Responsibility for public education in Quebec in 1953 was divided between local school boards and the central education authority represented by the Department of Education and the Council of Public Instruction. The school boards were responsible for the erection, maintenance, and local organization and administration of public schools, as well as the appointment and remuneration of those who taught in them.⁹ The central education authority was responsible for the pedagogical direction and control of the schools, and the preparation, certification, and disciplining of their teachers.¹⁰ The central authority also supervised the administration of school boards and distributed financial assistance to education both public and private.¹¹

Each local school board administered the public schools within its school municipality. Its members were elected for a three-year term from among local property owners or their spouses, the local

⁶Quebec, Annuaire Statistique, 1956 - 1957 (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1958), p. 165.

⁷Quebec, Report of the Superintendent of Education, 1953 - 1954, p. 66.

⁸Ibid., p. 118.

⁹Quebec, Code Scolaire de la Province de Québec (Quebec, 1950), pp. 114 - 134.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 26 - 30.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 19 - 23.

parish priest, and ministers of other denominations.¹² The electorate consisted only of property owners and their spouses.¹³ The school board of the religious majority was known as a board of commissioners, while that of a religious minority of either Catholics or Protestants was called a board of trustees. The rights and duties of trustees were similar to those of commissioners.¹⁴ Only in the cities of Montreal and Quebec were school boards not elected. In these cities they were appointed by civic and religious authorities. A legal arrangement for the erection of Protestant central school boards considerably facilitated, and made more economical, the provision of secondary education for non-Catholics. These central boards consisted of delegates from a number of constituent local boards.¹⁵ The central boards carried out most of the functions of their constituent boards, except that the latter still collected school taxes and attended to the maintenance of school buildings.¹⁶ There was no legal provision for the centralization of Catholic school boards.

The Department of Education was headed by a Superintendent of Education, a permanent official who was required to administer school law and the regulations of the Catholic and Protestant Committees of the Council of Public Instruction, as well as distribute education grants to public schools and other educational institutions.¹⁷ Because of the different regulations of the respective Committees, the Department of Education

¹²Ibid., p. 72.

¹³Ibid., p. 75.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 72.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 506 - 507.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 510 - 520.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 19 - 23.

was divided into two sections: one Catholic, the other Protestant. Each of these sections administered the schools of its denomination according to the provisions of provincial school law and the regulations of the Committee of its denomination.¹⁸ Education, other than technical, was formally represented in the provincial Cabinet not by a Minister of Education but by the Provincial Secretary, who had numerous other responsibilities such as government printing and documentation, public information, company regulation, and censorship. Technical education in general was represented by the Minister of Youth, although several other Ministries also conducted educational institutions of a specialist nature which were the responsibility of their various Ministers.¹⁹ In practice the government seldom gave any direction in general education, the affairs of which were left in the hands of the Superintendent of Education, his Department, and the Committees of the Council of Public Instruction.²⁰

The Council of Public Instruction was composed of two Committees, one Catholic, the other Protestant. These Committees were quite independent of one another and practically autonomous within their respective realms of jurisdiction.²¹ Although the Committees were expected to meet in full session as the Council of Public Instruction whenever matters arose which affected the common educational interests of Catholics and

¹⁸ Quebec, Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Québec (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1963), I, 41 - 42.

¹⁹ Gérard Filteau, Le Système scolaire de la Province de Québec (Montréal: Centre de Psychologie et de Pédagogie, 1954), p. 114.

²⁰ Quebec, Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education . . ., I, 23 - 24.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 30, 33.

Protestants, they had not done so for forty-five years. The Catholic Committee consisted of the twenty-two bishops of the province, twenty-two Catholic laymen and the Superintendent of Education. The Protestant Committee was composed of twenty-two full members, seven associate members, and the Superintendent of Education. The latter, who was a Catholic, voted only in the Catholic Committee. The bishops and the Superintendent held office by right, while the others who were full members were appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council. Nominally they held their positions "at pleasure," but actually they held them for life.²² Each Committee drew up regulations for the schools and teachers' normal schools of its own denomination, prescribed their curricula and examinations, laid down conditions for teacher certification, disciplined teachers, conducted a system of school inspection, approved of school textbooks, and regulated the censorship of books for school libraries.²³ Because each Committee convened only four times a year, the preliminary work which it was required to sanction was carried out by a number of commissions, subcommissions, and subcommittees. These ancillary bodies were especially numerous in the case of the Catholic Committee.²⁴

Private schools. --The conduct of private schools was left to their directors, apart from the requirements that, for the purpose of obtaining recognition and grants, non-classical schools employ competent teachers and be suitably equipped, and classical schools have their course of studies approved by a Catholic university.

²²Ibid., p. 30.

²³Ibid., p. 31 - 32.

²⁴Ibid., p. 38 - 41.

Finance

Public schools.--Public schools were financed through local taxes, government grants, and students' fees.

The main local tax was that levied on property within the school municipality. Where there was a dissentient minority, dissentient rate-payers paid their taxes to the board of trustees. Taxes on the property of corporations within the municipality were divided between the board of commissioners and the board of trustees in proportion to the number of children of school age in the territory of each board.²⁵

A number of municipalities which were populous enough to find this profitable levied a one per cent sales tax to supplement the property tax.²⁶

Government grants came under a number of headings, but in general were of two types--those distributed on the basis of school enrolment and those distributed on the basis of local need. The former were statutory, the latter discretionary. The statutory grants were intended to defray the general expenses of school boards and to help pay the salaries of teachers. The discretionary grants included grants to provide special financial assistance to poor municipalities, to help build new schools, and to assist school boards which were in debt to meet their financial obligations.²⁷

²⁵Quebec, Code scolaire . . ., pp. 229 - 230.

²⁶Quebec, Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Constitutional Problems (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1956), III, i, 222.

²⁷Quebec, Code scolaire . . ., pp. 242 - 251.

School boards were permitted to charge fees of their students but these could not exceed one dollar a month in the lower grades of secondary schools.²⁸ Boards were also permitted to charge for textbooks but were reimbursed one half of the cost if they supplied them free.²⁹

In 1953 the revenues of school boards in the province were derived in the following proportions--from local property tax, 59 per cent; from government grants, 27 per cent; from sales tax, 11 per cent; from students' fees, 2 per cent; from other sources, 1 per cent.³⁰ The significance of each source varied according to the location of the school board --in cities, sales tax accounted for 20 per cent of the revenue while government grants amounted to only 7 per cent; in rural areas sales tax did not contribute to revenue, but grants made up 57 per cent; in cities, local property tax provided 70 per cent of the revenue, while in rural areas it came to only 43 per cent.³¹

Private schools. --Private non-classical schools derived their income from students' fees and from government grants distributed to them by the Department of Education. Private classical schools obtained their revenues from students' fees, government grants distributed by the Department of Education, gifts and endowments, and from the resources of the colleges themselves.

Every boys' classical college, with the exception of those exclusively directed to the preparation of priests and religions, received an

²⁸Ibid., p. 154.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 121 - 122.

³⁰Quebec, Report of the Superintendent of Education, 1961 - 1962 (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1962), p. 466.

³¹Ibid., pp. 467 - 469.

annual grant of 15,000 dollars from the State.³² In addition each college was given a grant every twenty-five years on the occasion of the anniversary of its foundation. This amount increased with the age of the college--an institution celebrating its twenty-fifty anniversary received a grant of 25,000 dollars while a college celebrating its centenary received 100,000 dollars.³³

Student fees in classical colleges varied, but in 1953 they averaged 281 dollars a year for tuition and board.³⁴

While gifts and endowments had always been an important source of revenue for classical colleges, in recent years these had been considerably augmented through public subscription campaigns conducted by associations of alumni, usually for the purpose of financing some new construction. The amounts collected ranged from 50,000 dollars to 200,000 dollars, with the older colleges benefiting the most.³⁵ Many colleges were also assisted by diocesan collections taken up in the churches.³⁶

Colleges also derived some income from the ministering of their priests, the renting of facilities, the output of a college farm, and the sale of land.³⁷

The proportionate significance of the various sources of revenue in 1953 was as follows--students' fees, 75 per cent; government grants,

³² La Fédération des Collèges classiques, L'Organisation et les Besoins de l'Enseignement classique dans le Québec (Montréal: Fides, 1954), p. 17.

³³ Loc. cit.

³⁴ Loc. cit., p. 128.

³⁵ Loc. cit., p. 18.

³⁶ Loc. cit., pp. 134 - 135.

³⁷ Loc. cit., pp. 133 - 134.

7 per cent; gifts and endowments, 6 per cent; internal resources, 12 per cent.³⁸

Not all of a college's revenues were applied to secondary education, since most of the colleges conducted an eight-year course only the first half of which might be considered at the secondary level.

Programmes of Studies

In 1953 Quebec secondary schools provided one of four programmes of studies--the programme of studies approved for French-Catholic schools by the Catholic Committee; the programme of studies approved for English-Catholic schools by the Catholic Committee; the programme of studies approved for Protestant schools by the Protestant Committee, and the programme of studies approved for classical schools by the Catholic universities.

The French Catholic Programme of Studies

Since it was not the intention of the Department of Education and the Catholic Committee that the Catholic public schools which catered to French-speaking students should compete with the classical colleges in preparing students for entrance to university, the programme of studies approved for French-Catholic public schools was primarily designed to provide a terminal education for a mass of children who would almost all seek employment during or at the end of the secondary school course.

The programme was divided into two cycles--the complementary cycle (Eighth and Ninth Grades) and the superior cycle (Tenth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Grades).

³⁸Loc. cit., p. 124.

The complementary cycle entailed a continuing study of subjects already encountered in primary school, and was designed to give a basic training useful to those who would leave school when they reached the school-leaving age. The course was uniform, without elective subjects. A Departmental certificate was awarded on the results of an examination held at the end of the Ninth Grade. A pass in Religion and an average mark of 60 per cent was required for a certificate.³⁹ This certificate gave access to the superior cycle for those who wished to continue.⁴⁰ In 1953, 80 per cent of those who presented themselves for this examination passed it.

The superior cycle offered four main courses, described as general, commercial, scientific, and special. The three-year general course led to normal schools and to certain professional schools such as those of cabinet-making, paper-making, and fine arts. The course was open to those whose interests, aptitudes, and family circumstances inclined them to such careers. The two-year commercial course prepared students for business careers, and a third year might be taken by the more ambitious. The three-year scientific course was for boys only, and prepared them for higher professional schools, such as those of agriculture, commerce, and teacher-training, as well as for scientific and commercial studies at a university. The three-year special course prepared girls for some professional and university schools such as those of domestic science, pharmacy, nursing and commerce. The chief distinguishing features of the last three courses of the superior cycle

³⁹Quebec, Code scolaire . . ., p. 552.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 547.

were that the scientific course emphasized scientific studies, the commercial course stressed commercial subjects, and the special course was the only one in which Latin was taught. Within these courses there were no elective subjects.⁴¹

Departmental examinations were held at the end of each grade and were open not only to students of public schools but also to those of private schools who had followed the approved programme of studies. Pass standards varied according to subject and grade, but were quite high. An average of 60 per cent was required to pass the examinations of the Tenth and Eleventh Grades, and an average of 66.6 per cent was required to pass the Twelfth Grade Examinations. In all examinations students were required to pass in each group of related subjects, including studies in French and in English. A pass in Religion was required also.⁴²

The English-Catholic Programme of Studies

The English-Catholic secondary school programme differed from the French-Catholic one in providing a number of elective subjects rather than a pattern of uniform courses, and in being more oriented towards university studies.

The programme in English-Catholic secondary schools, or High Schools, as they were generally known, was divided into two cycles. Each cycle was two years in duration. The first cycle was entered after the seventh year of elementary studies. A fifth year at the end of these two cycles was offered in a few schools but, as its successful completion

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 524 - 525, 553 - 554.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 551 - 555.

gave access to the second year of studies in the English-language universities, it was really the equivalent of the first year of university and will not be considered further here.

In the first cycle, students studied a core of four compulsory subjects--Religion, English, French, and Mathematics--and at least two elective subjects.⁴³ In the second cycle a student chose to enter either the Arts and Science section or the Commercial section. In the Arts and Science section he studied a core of three subjects--Religion, English, and French--and at least five elective subjects. Students who planned to enter McGill University chose their subjects with a view to meeting faculty requirements--Latin, for instance, was necessary for entrance to the Arts faculty. Students in the Commercial section studied Religion, English, French, and several commercial subjects.⁴⁴

Departmental certificate examinations were held at the end of the Ninth and Eleventh Grades. A general average of 60 per cent was required for certification, and a pass was required in each subject, including Religion.⁴⁵

The Protestant Programme of Studies

The programme offered in Protestant secondary schools, or High Schools, resembled that offered in the English-Catholic High Schools. It also incorporated two cycles, with the first providing a basic core of studies with few electives and the second providing a narrower core

⁴³G. Emmett Carter, The Catholic Public Schools of Quebec (Toronto: Gage, 1957), p. 120.

⁴⁴Quebec, Code scolaire . . ., pp. 555 - 556.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 555.

with more electives in order to permit specialization. An additional year was also provided, which was the equivalent of the first year of university studies.

In the first two years of secondary school--the Eighth and Ninth Grades--students were required to study four compulsory subjects--English, French, Arithmetic and History--and two elective subjects. A general average of 75 per cent was required for promotion from each of these grades.⁴⁶ In the Tenth and Eleventh Grades, students were required to study two compulsory subjects--English and French--and at least four electives from about twenty different subjects. The pass standard in the High School Leaving Certificate Examination (Eleventh Grade) was 50 per cent in each subject.⁴⁷ Those who wished to undertake university studies chose their electives with faculty requirements in mind.

Although there was a wide range of electives from which to choose, from 1950 to 1954 almost all students chose History, Algebra, Geometry, and Chemistry in the High School Leaving Certificate Examination.⁴⁸ These were chosen apparently with a view to satisfying university entrance requirements.

The Classical Programme of Studies

The programme of the classical colleges derived from that of the early Jesuit colleges and continued to be inspired by the educational

⁴⁶Quebec, Department of Education, The Education Act of the Province of Quebec (Quebec, 1951), p. 19.

⁴⁷Quebec, Department of Education, High School Leaving Examination (Quebec): Results, Reports, and Examination Papers, 1955 (n.p., n.d.) p. 3.

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 5 - 9.

doctrines of the Church for junior seminaries--according to Canon Law pupils had to pay special attention to Latin, and a systematic teaching of Catholic religious doctrine was also required. The traditional classical course had been an eight-year, undifferentiated one, involving the study of Greco-Latin humanities and Catholic philosophy. It had culminated in the baccalaureate in arts which admitted its possessor to any of the faculties and schools of Quebec's Catholic universities. The object of the course had been to give what was considered a first-class, general, cultural formation to those who undertook it by developing their intellect and will so that they might discover the ideal way of life and live according to that ideal.⁴⁹ By 1953, although the object of the course had not changed, the means of attaining this object had been diversified. There were now two main avenues to the ideal--the traditional route via Latin, Greek, and Philosophy, and an additional route via Latin, Science, and Philosophy. The first was known as the Latin-Greek section, and the second as the Latin-Science section. The first four years of the Latin-Greek section were devoted mainly to the study of the elements of Latin, Greek, French and English, along with some French literature and ancient history.⁵⁰ The first four years of the Latin-Science section were quite similar, except that Science and Mathematics were substituted for Greek. The Latin-Greek section was designed for those who sought to enter the Church and the liberal professions, while the Latin-Science section facilitated those who wished to pursue scientific studies at the

⁴⁹La Fédération des Collèges Classiques, op. cit., p. 34.

⁵⁰Roch Duval, "The Roman Catholic Colleges of Quebec," ed. G. Z. F. Bereday and J. A. Lauwerys, The Year Book of Education, 1957 (London: Evans, 1957), p. 273.

university, by permitting them to specialize earlier.⁵¹ The Latin-Science section, which had been introduced to the system of classical education only in 1952, was already encountering serious difficulties. Apart from setbacks due to the shortage of personnel qualified to teach science, and the inadequacy of laboratory equipment in the colleges, introduction of the new course was also hampered by the opposition of those who feared for the academic survival of Greek, and by purists who saw the classical programme as debauched by studies savouring of scientism and materialism.⁵² There was also some apprehension that the introduction of scientific studies would bring with it a decrease in vocations to the priesthood.⁵³

The full classical course was divided into two cycles by the Matriculation Examination at the end of the fourth year. The primary aim of the first cycle was to prepare students for the second, by inculcating the linguistic skills and mental discipline which were considered necessary for the literary and philosophical studies of the second cycle. Although the first cycle was considered to be at the secondary level of education, and the second cycle to be at the college level, this distinction was not acknowledged in official educational terminology. All grades of the Catholic public schools were still spoken of as "primary," while all grades of the classical colleges were spoken of as "secondary."

⁵¹Loc. cit.

⁵²Arthur Tremblay, Les Collèges et les Écoles publiques: Conflit ou Coordination? (Québec: Les Presses universitaires Laval, 1954), p. 4.

⁵³Duval, op. cit., p. 274.

These terms perpetuated the traditional distinction between primary studies leading to "the world of work," and secondary studies leading to the university.

Teacher Training

Teachers in public secondary schools were required to hold appropriate teaching certificates unless they were members of a religious teaching order.⁵⁴ Teachers in private schools were not required to have a professional qualification. Public school teaching certificates were issued by the Committees of the Council of Public Instruction to those who had completed professional courses in Catholic and Protestant normal schools and at the Education Departments of the Arts faculties of McGill University and Bishop's University. Education courses, some of them leading to the Bachelor of Pedagogy and higher degrees, were offered at Laval University and the University of Montreal for teachers who wished to avail of them.

Training of Teachers for Catholic Public Schools

Catholic teachers were trained in ninety-seven normal schools distributed throughout the province. Two of these were for lay men, forty-nine for lay women, fifteen for religious brothers, and thirty-one for nuns. Enrolment varied considerably, but forty-nine had less than fifty students, and nine had less than five students.⁵⁵ All the normal schools were controlled by the Catholic Committee, on whose recommendation principals and instructors were appointed.⁵⁶ The schools

⁵⁴Quebec, Code Scolaire . . ., p. 41.

⁵⁵Quebec, Report of the Superintendent of Education, 1953 - 1954, pp. 40 - 43.

⁵⁶Quebec, Code scolaire . . ., p. 254.

were directed in all cases by clergymen or members of religious orders. Almost all were boarding institutions. None had any university affiliation.

Normal school courses were regulated by the Catholic Committee. Only holders of Complementary and Superior Certificates were permitted to teach in public secondary schools--the former in the Eighth and Ninth Grades, the latter in all grades. Certificates indicated whether a teacher might teach in English-Catholic or French-Catholic schools, or in both.⁵⁷

Requirements for certification demanded a higher standard of men than of women. Men who had completed the Eleventh Grade of public school were required to take a two-year course in normal school for the Complementary Certificate, and a third year for the Superior Certificate. Women, on the other hand, who had completed the Eleventh Grade could gain these certificates after one or two years in normal school, respectively.⁵⁸ Men who held the baccalaureate from a classical college were awarded the Complementary Certificate after one year at normal school, and the Superior Certificate after two years,⁵⁹ but women who held the baccalaureate were awarded the Superior Certificate after one year at normal school.⁶⁰ Whereas boys were admitted to normal school only after completing the Eleventh Grade, girls were admitted after the Ninth Grade. Girls with a Ninth Grade certificate were awarded the Complementary Certificate after three years of study, and the Superior Certificate after four years of study, at normal school.⁶¹

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 667.

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 613 - 614.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 589 - 590.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 614.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 607.

Training of Teachers for Protestant Public Schools

Courses leading to the certification of Protestant public school teachers were given in three institutions in 1953--at the Protestant normal school--Macdonald College--and at the Education Departments of McGill University and Bishop's University. These institutions were coeducational. Courses given in them led to two secondary school teaching certificates--the Intermediate Certificate and the High School Certificate. The Intermediate Certificate was awarded after one year of teacher training at Macdonald College to those who had completed the Twelfth Grade.⁶² The High School Certificate was awarded only to university graduates who had completed a postgraduate course of one year in the theory and practice of education at the Education Departments of McGill University and Bishop's University.⁶³

In September 1953 an agreement between McGill University and Macdonald College led to the inauguration of a four-year course leading to the Bachelor of Education degree of McGill University. This course included academic and professional studies in each of the four years and was so arranged that participants who had completed the first two years might be awarded the Intermediate Teaching Certificate, enabling them to teach for a time before returning to complete the degree requirements.⁶⁴ The first two years of the B. Ed. course were given at Macdonald College and the last two at McGill University. Graduates

⁶²Quebec, Department of Education, The Education Act . . ., pp. 31 - 32.

⁶³Ibid., p. 33.

⁶⁴Quebec, Report of the Superintendent of Education, 1952 - 1953 (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1954), p. 151.

were simultaneously granted the B. Ed. degree and the High School Certificate.

Summary

Education in Quebec in 1953 presented a picture of considerable complexity, incoherence, and lack of overall direction. This state of disorder appeared to be maintained by religious, linguistic, and political forces whose origins lay in the history of the province. These forces were manifest in a multiplicity of institutions, each with its own aims and vested interests, and each seeking to preserve or extend its own influence, regardless of the general welfare.

Education in the province was dominated by the Catholic Church authorities. These controlled not only the classical colleges and the Catholic universities which had derived from them, but also the public and private schools and the normal schools of the religious majority. Although the schools of the religious minority were autonomous, they owed the existence and preservation of this autonomy to the educational philosophy of the Catholic Church in Quebec and the historical consequences of this philosophy as they affected Church-State relations in the province. The Church saw the role of the State as a subservient one, not only in Catholic education, but in all education, and was as much a champion of the independence of Protestant schools as of Catholic schools.

While the Catholic and Protestant sectors of education functioned as discrete entities, within the Catholic sector itself different sections developed with little common purpose or communication. The Church had produced a system of classical colleges for the intellectual

formation of a clerical and professional elite destined to lead the masses of rural Quebec. It had also adopted the system of public schools generated by the State to provide basic instruction for those masses. The industrialization and urbanization of the province had furthered the growth of the public system until it eventually provided a full secondary course outside of the traditional classical system. But the development of the public school was formally ignored by the Church authorities, who continued to favor their own creation, the classical college, and endeavoured to preserve for its alumni the privilege of pursuing those studies which led to positions of prestige and leadership. Church authorities also gave little regard to the emergence of a third system within its area of jurisdiction--the English-Catholic school system. English Catholics were incorporated in the Catholic sector which was concerned with and dominated by French-Catholic interests. As there was no opportunity for English Catholics to secure higher education within the Catholic sector they were obliged to seek recognition outside of it. They finally succeeded in attaching themselves academically to the leading university of the Protestant population, while maintaining administrative and financial ties with the Catholic sector.

The result of these distinct developments in Quebec education was an uncoordinated pattern of arrangements for the administration and financing of education, for programmes of study, and for teacher training. Educational revenues derived from the provincial government were distributed without reference to the authority which had collected them, or to the taxpayers who had supplied them, by two Committees which in fact had no responsibility to the government and the public. Programmes of study were so different that student mobility among the different types

of institutions in the Catholic sector was virtually impossible, and there was no communication between the schools of this sector and those of the Protestant sector. Teacher training arrangements were similarly uncoordinated, and in the Catholic sector were highly disorganized. Here a considerable number of teachers--public school teachers in religious orders and all teachers in classical colleges--were not required to have any professional training. For the rest, a multitude of establishments provided training under different norms for men and women, and under conditions which must have varied considerably as to quality and efficiency.

Thus despite the economic and social transformations which had radically altered living conditions in the province, the Church continued to support an educational agglomeration which had developed in random fashion to meet the demands of an earlier era. In the political climate prevailing in 1953 the role of the State was seen, not only by the Church but by the State itself, as merely that of supplying sufficient funds to keep this kaleidoscopic and extravagant universe in motion.

CHAPTER IV

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN IRELAND, 1953

Organization, Administration, and Finance

Organization

State-subsidized secondary education in Ireland in 1953 was provided in three types of institutions--grammar schools, "secondary tops" of National Schools (primary schools), and preparatory colleges. Approximately 12 per cent of those between ten and nineteen years of age were enrolled in these schools. Of approximately 60,000 students in secondary schools, the great majority--about 90 per cent--attended grammar schools,¹ while most of the remainder attended secondary tops.² Only five hundred were in preparatory colleges.³

Grammar schools were owned and conducted by private groups or individuals. Most of the schools--about 80 per cent--were conducted by Catholic diocesan clergy and religious orders.⁴ Since these were the larger schools, they accounted for an even greater proportion of the total enrolment.⁵ About 12 per cent of grammar

¹Ireland, Report of the Department of Education, 1953 - 1954 (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1956), p. 80.

²Ibid., p. 88.

³Ibid., p. 74.

⁴Ireland, Department of Education, Secondary Branch, An Scoilbhliain, 1959 - 1960 [The School Year, 1959 - 1960] (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1960), pp. 1 - 13.

⁵Loc. cit.

schools--with 6 per cent of enrolment--were conducted by Catholic laity.⁶ The remaining 8 per cent of grammar schools, which comprised 6 per cent of the total enrolment in grammar schools, were conducted by non-Catholic clergymen and laymen.⁷ Although in practice grammar schools were generally denominational, there was no legal foundation for this, since a student was free to enroll in any school which would accept him. In fact a number of non-Catholic children did attend Catholic schools, especially where schools of their own denomination were not conveniently located, or were not provided. Few of the schools were coeducational, and these were generally very small establishments.⁸ Only 3 per cent of Catholic schools conducted by clergy or religious orders were coeducational,⁹ but even among non-Catholics over half of the schools were attended by either boys or girls.¹⁰ Close to half of the grammar schools were boarding schools, and these accounted for about one-third of the grammar school population.¹¹ Grammar schools were generally small schools, over half of the 447 grammar schools had less than a hundred students, and only twenty schools had more than three hundred.¹²

"Secondary tops" consisted of special classes in National

⁶Loc. cit.

⁷Loc. cit.

⁸Loc. cit.

⁹Loc. cit.

¹⁰Loc. cit.

¹¹Ireland, Report of the Department of Education, 1953 - 1954, p. 80.

¹²Ibid., p. 82.

Schools which were permitted by the State to provide secondary education where grammar schools were not within the reach or the means of the students.¹³ Like the National Schools in which they were incorporated, the "secondary tops" were controlled either by local clergymen or religious teaching orders. Almost all the students in "secondary tops" were girls--only 6 per cent were boys in 1953--and the great majority were in the lower secondary grades.¹⁴ While many of the "secondary tops" were located in areas where grammar school education was available only for girls or boys or not at all, some "secondary tops" were also to be found in areas where grammar schools for boys and girls were already operating. Presumably, in this case, the "secondary tops" provided education for children who could not afford to attend grammar schools.

Preparatory colleges were boarding schools for students who wished to complete their secondary education before entering a teachers' training college. They were situated mostly in remote Irish-speaking areas, where students were expected to absorb Gaelic culture more readily. In 1953 there were six of these colleges--five for Catholics and one for Protestants. The Catholic colleges were conducted by religious teaching orders. Only the Protestant college was coeducational.¹⁵ Students were admitted to preparatory college on the basis of a competitive examination, with preference given to those who were fluent in the

¹³Ireland, Department of Education, Secondary Branch, Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1953 - 1954 (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1953), p. 21.

¹⁴Ireland, Report of the Department of Education, 1953 - 1954, p. 88.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 74.

Irish language.

Administration

Secondary education was administered by the Department of Education--which was responsible through a Minister of Education to the government and the legislature--and by the school managers.

The Minister of Education was assisted by a Council of Education consisting of representatives of a number of groups with a special interest in education. Members were appointed by the Minister for five-year periods to advise him "upon such matters relating to educational theory and practice as they think fit and upon any educational questions and problems referred by him to them."¹⁶

The Department of Education, chiefly through its Secondary Branch, administered regulations which governed the recognition of secondary schools for State subsidies, prescribed the programme of studies to be followed in recognized schools, conducted certificate examinations based on this programme, provided for school inspection, and distributed grants in aid of secondary education. Regulations for recognition prescribed a minimum enrolment, minimum staffing arrangements, satisfactory accommodation, and the nature of the curriculum. Recognition might be withdrawn if these conditions were not satisfied.¹⁷

The appointment of teachers and the construction and maintenance of all but the preparatory colleges were the responsibility of the local

¹⁶Ireland, Department of Education, Report of the Council of Education: The Curriculum of the Secondary School (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1962), p. vi.

¹⁷Ireland, Department of Education, Rules and Programme . . ., 1953 - 1954, pp. 6 - 7.

school managers--the proprietors in the case of grammar schools, the local senior clergymen or representatives of religious orders in the case of "secondary tops," and the local bishops in the case of preparatory colleges.

Finance

Secondary education in Ireland was financed from government grants, student fees, and voluntary contributions. The proportion of revenues deriving from each of these sources varied according to the type of institution and from one institution to another of the same type. Figures are not available which would indicate the overall significance of each source in the financing of secondary education, but on the whole the proportion contributed by the government was considerable.

The current expenses of grammar schools were met from grants and fees, although in the case of Catholic junior seminaries some assistance was also obtained from diocesan collections. Construction costs were borne entirely by the school proprietors.

Government grants to grammar schools were of two main types--those paid directly to the school proprietors, and those paid to recognized teachers in the schools. The most important direct grant to schools was a capitation grant based on the number, age, grade-level, and attendance of secondary students enrolled.¹⁸ This grant, which amounted to 80 per cent of the direct grants paid to schools, was about twenty dollars per student in 1953.¹⁹ It was intended to help pay the

¹⁸Ireland, Department of Education, Rules for the Payment of Grants to Secondary Schools (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1957), pp. 4 - 5.

¹⁹Ireland, Report of the Department of Education, 1953 - 1954, p. 93.

basic salaries of teachers, and to defray other operating costs. Additional direct grants were made to schools to help equip science laboratories, maintain choirs and orchestras, and to foster teaching through the medium of Irish.²⁰ Of the grants paid to teachers the most important was a salary grant which provided a recognized teacher with the balance of his salary in excess of the basic amount paid him by his school manager. The amount varied with the sex, marital status, qualifications, and experience of the teacher, and with whether or not the teacher gave instruction through the medium of Irish.²¹ Married teachers also received a rent allowance from the government.²² In 1953 salary grants paid to teachers accounted, on the average, for two-thirds of their salaries.²³ These grants constituted about two-thirds of the total payments made from public funds for secondary grammar schools, which in 1953 amounted to eighty dollars per student.²⁴

Student fees were an important item on the budget of a grammar school. Fees varied from school to school, according to the size of the school, its prestige, whether or not it was conducted by a religious order, and the socio-economic status of the student body. In day schools they ranged from about twenty to ninety dollars a year, and in

²⁰Loc. cit.

²¹Ireland, Department of Education, "Payment of Incremental Salaries of Secondary Teachers" (n.p., n.d.), p. 1. (Mimeographed).

²²Ireland, Report of the Department of Education, 1953 - 1954, p. 93.

²³Loc. cit.

²⁴Loc. cit., p. 47.

boarding schools from about one hundred and fifty to four hundred dollars a year. Students provided their own textbooks, materials, and transportation.

Scholarships were provided by the government and local authorities on the basis of competitive examinations, but they were few, and often of little value.²⁵ There were five times as many applicants as there were scholarships in 1953.²⁶

"Secondary tops" derived their revenues from government grants, voluntary local contributions, and in some cases from student fees. Grants accounted for most of their revenue, and helped pay the greater part of construction costs, the entire cost of teachers' salaries, and part of the cost of school maintenance. The remaining costs were generally met from parish or community funds.

Preparatory colleges were financed through government grants and students' fees. Grants provided for the construction, equipment and maintenance of the colleges, while teachers' salaries were paid directly by the State. Students' fees were relatively low and were sometimes adjusted according to the circumstances of a student's family. In 1953 the contribution of the State towards the current expenses of preparatory colleges amounted to 450 dollars per student--five times more than it contributed towards the education of each grammar school student.²⁷

²⁵Loc. cit., pp. 89 - 90.

²⁶Loc. cit., p. 90.

²⁷Loc. cit., p. 47.

Programme of Studies

Entrance to the secondary school programme was normally effected after six years of elementary schooling in the case of grammar schools and "secondary tops," and after seven years in the case of preparatory colleges. The course lasted four or five years in grammar schools and "secondary tops," depending on the age of a student at entry.²⁸ In preparatory colleges the course lasted four years. In grammar schools and "secondary tops" instruction might be given in Irish or in English or in both languages, but in the preparatory colleges the sole medium of instruction was Irish, the everyday language of the students.

The programme of studies was uniform throughout all types of secondary institutions. It was divided into two cycles, with the first ending in the Intermediate Certificate Examination and the second in the Leaving Certificate Examination. The official purposes of these certificates were, in the case of the Intermediate Certificate, "to testify to the completion of a well-balanced course of general education suitable for pupils who leave school at about sixteen years of age, and, alternatively, to the fitness of the pupils for entry on more advanced courses of study in a secondary or vocational school,"²⁹ and, in the case of the Leaving Certificate, "to testify to the completion of a good secondary education and to the fitness of the pupil to enter on a course of study at a university or an educational institution of similar standing."³⁰

²⁸Ireland, Department of Education, Rules and Programme . . ., 1953 - 1954, pp. 13, 15.

²⁹Ibid., p. 13.

³⁰Ibid., p. 15.

Schools which provided the first cycle were obliged to give instruction in at least six examination subjects, including Irish, a second language, History and Geography, and Mathematics. There were fifteen additional subjects to choose from. Schools providing the second cycle were obliged to offer Irish, and at least five other subjects from a list of twenty-three examination subjects.³¹

In theory, a student's choice of examination subjects was very wide--he was required, for both certificates, to pass in at least five subjects, of which only Irish was compulsory.³² In practice, of course, a student's choice was limited by the number and nature of the subjects taught in his school. This in turn might be influenced by the general, rather than individual, preferences of students and their families, by the qualifications of teaching personnel, by the size of the school, and the nature of its equipment. A small school could not be expected to offer a wide selection of subjects, and the absence of science and language laboratories, agricultural plots and equipment, kitchens and sewing rooms, workshops, and business machines, would preclude the teaching of a number of subjects which were approved for examination, especially at the higher level. University entrance requirements might also serve to restrict a student's choice--for matriculation, passes were recognized in five or six subjects of the Leaving Certificate examination, provided these included English, and two of Mathematics, Latin, Greek, and a modern Continental language.³³ Latin was required by a number

³¹Ibid., p. 8.

³²Ibid., pp. 14 - 15.

³³The University of Dublin, Calendar, 1953 (Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1953) p. 24; The National University of Ireland, Calendar, 1953 (Dublin: Alex Thom, 1953), p. 136.

of university faculties, and Irish was necessary to enter the National University.³⁴ These limitations probably account for a surprising uniformity of subject choice in a programme which lent itself to diversity. In 1954 almost all boys who sat for the Intermediate Certificate Examination did so in Irish, English, Latin, Science, Mathematics, and Drawing, while girls did so in Irish, English, Latin, French, Mathematics, and Home Economics.³⁵ In the Leaving Certificate Examination few students wrote in subjects other than Irish, English, Mathematics, History, Geography, and Latin.³⁶ At this level, few girls chose a science subject, and even among boys the number who did so was relatively small.³⁷ The number who studied a foreign language other than French was negligible, and the study of French was confined mainly to girls.³⁸

Religion was not offered as an examination subject.

Students from other than State-recognized schools were permitted to write the Leaving Certificate Examination also and their performance might be evaluated for university entrance. Students were also free to write the matriculation examinations of the two universities, without having attended State-recognized schools.

Teacher Training

Recognized grammar schools and preparatory colleges were staffed mainly by registered secondary teachers, while "secondary tops"

³⁴The National University of Ireland, Calendar, 1953, p. 135.

³⁵Ireland, Report of the Department of Education, 1953 - 1954, p. 85.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 86 - 87.

³⁷Loc. cit.

³⁸Loc. cit.

were staffed mainly by trained primary school teachers. Apart from specialists, who were trained in special institutions for home economics, art, and music, Irish secondary teachers were trained either in universities or in teacher training colleges.

Grammar schools were required, for recognition by the State, to employ a basic complement of registered secondary school teachers. Registered teachers were, in general, required to have a university degree with a postgraduate university diploma in education, to be competent in the Irish language, and to have successfully completed one year of teaching in a secondary school.³⁹ Postgraduate courses in the theory and practice of education were provided by the Education Departments of the constituent colleges of the National University of Ireland and by the School of Education of Dublin University.⁴⁰ The courses of the National University were attended generally by Catholic graduates while those of Dublin University were attended by Protestant graduates. Courses in both institutions terminated, after one year, in the examination for the Higher Diploma in Education.

A basic proportion of the teachers employed in "secondary tops" were required to be qualified primary teachers who were competent to give instruction in the subjects taught by them. University graduates and specialist teachers might be employed only after this condition

³⁹ Ireland, Registration Council, Regulations for the Registration of Intermediate School Teachers (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1953), pp. 3, 5.

⁴⁰ The University of Dublin, op. cit., p. 4; The National University of Ireland, op. cit., p. 152.

had been fulfilled.⁴¹ Primary teachers were trained in six training colleges, or normal schools. Three of these were for Catholic men, two for Catholic women, and one for Protestant men and women. Two of the men's colleges trained, exclusively, members of religious teaching orders, while one of the women's colleges prepared both lay women and members of religious orders. Except for those who had graduated from preparatory colleges, and a few university graduates, lay students were admitted to the training colleges through a competition based on the results of the Leaving Certificate Examination and an examination in spoken Irish. The course of training normally lasted two years, but university graduates were exempt from the first year. The course was partly academic and partly professional.⁴² The Teacher's Diploma was awarded to course graduates when they had completed two years of successful primary teaching. Students who passed the final examination of the course with high standing and who wished to proceed to the National University were admitted to the second year of arts and science studies in that institution.⁴³ The training colleges were State-aided but under ecclesiastical management and, in the case of the Catholic colleges, were conducted by religious teaching orders assisted by lay instructors. The final examinations were, however, conducted by the Irish Department of Education,⁴⁴ which also awarded the Teacher's Diploma.

⁴¹Ireland, Department of Education, Rules and Programme . . . , 1953 - 1954, p. 21.

⁴²Ireland, Department of Education, Clár Léinn na gColáistí Oiliúna [Programme of Studies for Training Colleges] (n.p., n.d.), pp. 5 - 34.

⁴³The National University of Ireland, op. cit., p. 168.

⁴⁴Ireland, Department of Education, Clár Leinn . . . , p. 3.

Summary

Secondary education in Ireland was relatively uniform in content although provided entirely in institutions controlled by private interests. This uniformity was due to the State policy of providing financial assistance only under conditions which imposed minimum standards for school plant and teaching personnel, and which also to some extent determined the nature of the curriculum. This policy, which was applied without discrimination, had a powerful centralizing effect which was not offset by the existence of local education authorities. The only body representing community interests was the Council of Education, which was appointed by the central government and had a purely advisory function.

Although juridicially no recognition was given to the Catholic Church in education, in practice it wielded considerable influence, particularly through its control of teacher appointments and tenure. Since all schools were controlled by their private managers, who were almost entirely Catholic clergymen, it was these managers who decided who might teach in their schools, and for how long. Through the religious orders which conducted Catholic training colleges the Church was also in a position to supervise closely the preparation of teachers for "secondary tops." The influence of the Church in secondary education was further enhanced by the policy of the State in providing subsidies only to meet the operating expenses of grammar schools already in existence, and none for the construction of new plant. Only the religious teaching orders had the capital and incentive to invest in large modern school plant, which could be operated economically by their members living within communities.

The parsimony of the State was also reflected in the proliferation of small schools providing a narrow and inexpensive programme of studies in grammar, literature, and mathematics. A curriculum which through its greater range of subjects might better provide for individual differences among students was precluded by cost, although in terms of national welfare such a curriculum, by catering to students' interests and aptitudes and retaining a greater number at school for a longer period, might prove more economical in the long run.

CHAPTER V

DEVELOPMENTS IN QUEBEC SECONDARY EDUCATION, 1953 - 1963

The period from 1953 to 1963 was a most dynamic one in the evolution of Quebec secondary education. Problems posed by a remarkable increase in the enrolment of secondary school students, together with numerous educational investigations, recommendations and criticisms made at both academic and popular levels, kept educational affairs prominently before the public for much of the period, and helped introduce change or projects for change in the whole educational system.

The pace of development was not uniform throughout the decade but was much more rapid in the later than in the earlier period. The striking and fundamental reforms which were introduced or projected during the last four years of the decade did not, however, occur spontaneously after a long period of stagnation. The groundwork for these changes had been laid in an unobtrusive manner during the first six years. The period under study will therefore be treated in two sections--the first dealing with developments between September 1953 and September 1959, and the second with developments between September 1959 and September 1963.

Developments in Secondary Education, 1953 - 1959

During this period mounting pressure was put on educational

facilities by rapidly increasing enrolments at the secondary level. Efforts were made by the Catholic central education authorities to bring about a greater coordination among the disparate courses offered in French-Catholic secondary schools, to provide a wider avenue to the university for French-Catholic students in public schools, and to coordinate and raise the certification standards for public school teachers. These efforts were mainly the result of the recommendations of a subcommittee of the Catholic Committee which was appointed to study the problem of educational coordination. Considerable criticism was directed at the Quebec educational system by a Royal Commission set up to study federal-provincial government relations, and the recommendations of this Commission, although chiefly ignored at the time, were to have considerable significance for educational reform after 1959.

Enrolments in Secondary Schools

Between 1953 and 1959 the student population in secondary schools rose rapidly and steadily. By 1959 the total enrolment in State-subsidized schools had risen to 196,200 students, an increase of 88,800 or 82 per cent, in six years.¹ This increase may be attributed in part to a demand for higher education in the labor force, to the steady urbanization of the population, and to the growing prosperity of the province which, between 1954 and 1959, experienced an economic growth rate of almost 8 per cent a year.² Another factor which was doubtless of

¹Quebec, Report of the Superintendent of Education, 1961 - 1962 (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1962), pp. 178, 371; Quebec, Annuaire Statistique, 1963 (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1963), p. 245.

²Quebec, First Report of the Minister of Education (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1965), p. 48.

significance was the increase in the population between ten and nineteen years of age. In 1951 there were 698,600 individuals in this age-group, but by 1956 the number had increased to 837,500--a rise of almost 20 per cent.³

The pressure of student enrolments posed severe financial problems for school boards. Between 1949 and 1953 their expenses more than doubled, increasing from 119 million dollars to 240 million dollars.⁴ Yet the proportion met by government grants remained the same,⁵ leaving the rest to be derived from increased local taxation, student fees, and borrowing. By 1956 the problem had become so acute that the government was obliged to assume one half of the debts of school boards, and the cities of Montreal and Quebec were permitted to levy a sales tax of 2 per cent for educational purposes.⁶

The Report of the Sub-Committee for the Coordination of Education

In December 1953 an important report was presented to the Catholic Committee by its Sub-Committee for the Coordination of Education. This sub-committee contained representatives of Catholic universities, classical colleges and normal schools, and had been appointed two years earlier to study the Catholic school system in the province

³Quebec, Annuaire Statistique, 1958 (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1959), p. 80.

⁴Quebec, Annuaire Statistique, 1964 - 1965 (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1965), p. 296.

⁵Loc. cit.

⁶Joseph-Louis Pagé, "Quebec on the Move," Education, III (Toronto: Gage, n.d.), p. 4.

and make recommendations for its greater coordination.⁷

The sub-committee found fault with the lack of uniform terminology, of clearly defined academic levels, and of programmes of study sufficiently coordinated to permit easy transfer of students either vertically, from one academic level to a higher one, or horizontally, from one type of educational institution to another at the same level. The following proposals were of particular importance for later modifications in secondary education:

a) that the general structures of education be more precisely defined, educational stages be more strictly delimited, and a uniform terminology be adopted;

b) that the programmes of studies in the various types of secondary schools be drawn up or revised while adverting to those in use in other institutions at the same and at different levels;

c) that the programmes accord with the findings of psychology as these related to differences in individual learning potential;

d) that differences between the programmes of studies in public secondary schools and classical colleges be reduced to the essential minimum;

e) that Latin be introduced to the scientific course offered in public schools and that the scientific course be modelled closely enough on that of the Latin-Science section of the classical colleges that it would be recognized as leading to university matriculation at the end of the Eleventh grade.⁸

⁷Quebec, Report of the Superintendent of Education, 1953 - 1954 (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1955), p. ix.

⁸Le Devoir, December 22, 1953, pp. 1 - 2.

The significance of this report for subsequent reforms in Quebec education was later acknowledged by the Superintendent of Education when he described the report as "a document which has inspired many subsequent decisions, as well as the preparation of new courses of studies for secondary schools and normal schools."⁹

As a result of the report, the terms "primary complementary school" and "primary superior school" were abandoned for "secondary school"; an attempt was made to harmonize the content of subjects common to French Catholic public schools and classical colleges; the normal length of the public secondary school course was reduced from five years to four to equate it with that of the first cycle in classical colleges; a new programme of studies was drawn up for public secondary schools and introduced progressively in all grades; and a classical course was provided in some French Catholic public secondary schools which gave some public school students access, for the first time, to the baccalaureate and a complete choice of university studies.

The New Programme of Studies in Public Secondary Schools

The new programme consisted of five major courses--general, commercial, scientific, classical, and special. The first four were for boys and girls, the last for girls only.

The general course was a four-year course designed to prepare students for immediate employment or for professional schools of middle rank. It was not specialized, and emphasized the practical. It was officially intended for those who, "by reason of their aptitudes, their

⁹Quebec, Report of the Superintendent of Education, 1957 - 1958 (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1958), p. xiii.

interests, their family circumstances, " were unable or unwilling to pursue their general education beyond the Eleventh Grade.¹⁰ At the levels of the Tenth and Eleventh Grades the course divided into two options--the general-mathematics option, and the general-arts option. The former stressed mathematics, the latter industrial arts or domestic science.¹¹

The commercial course was also a four-year course designed to prepare students for business employment. The first two years of the course were the same as those of the general course, while in the last two years commercial studies were stressed. A fifth year might be undertaken for those who aspired to higher positions in business. A special intensive course comprising the commercial content of the regular commercial course might be offered at the Twelfth Grade level for those who had completed the general course or its equivalent.¹²

The scientific course was a four-year course which prepared students for studies at the university or college level. It was intended for those who, "by reason of their aptitudes, their interests, and their family circumstances, " were able and willing to undertake such studies.¹³ The course was officially described as "more cultural than practical,"¹⁴ and its teaching methods were aimed "to foster personal endeavor."¹⁵ Teachers of this course were warned not to permit "a lowering of standards or a slackening of the pace of instruction in order to adapt it to pupils

¹⁰Quebec, Programme d'Études des Écoles secondaires, 1961 (n. p. , n. d.), p. 7.

¹¹Ibid., p. 37.

¹²Ibid., p. 8.

¹³Loc. cit.

¹⁴Loc. cit.

¹⁵Loc. cit.

who had neither the capacity nor the desire to follow the course."¹⁶

The last two years of the course were divided into options--a science-mathematics option leading to scientific studies at university, and a science-letters option leading to other university studies open to public school graduates.¹⁷ Although, in theory, the course prepared directly for university entrance, in practice this was not so, since university science faculties required that graduates of the course spend an extra year in a special Twelfth Year Scientific class. Only a limited number of successful graduates of the science-mathematics option--"those who had the necessary aptitudes," according to the Superintendent of Education¹⁸--were admitted to this special class.

The classical course was a four-year course with a programme similar to that of the first four-years in a classical college. It led to university matriculation at the end of the Eleventh Grade.¹⁹ Matriculants might then pursue a further four years of study for the baccalaureate in the upper classes of whatever classical colleges accepted them. The classical course might be offered only with the permission of the Superintendent of Education, and on the recommendation of the local Catholic bishop, after agreement had been reached with a Catholic university or classical college which would recognize the class.²⁰ Permission would be granted by the Superintendent only where the student

¹⁶Loc. cit., p. 4.

¹⁷Loc. cit., p. 8.

¹⁸Le Devoir, September 21, 1959, p. 3.

¹⁹Quebec, Programme d'Études . . ., p. 8.

²⁰Quebec, Report of the Superintendent of Education, 1953 - 1954, p. xi.

population was high enough to guarantee a steady supply of superior students, and where the teachers of the course all held either a baccalaureate in arts or a Bachelor of Pedagogy degree, as well as the highest teaching certificate.²¹

The special course was a four-year course which prepared girls for certain university studies such as nursing and social work. It was similar to the scientific course except that Latin was introduced in the Ninth Grade.²² It was hoped that this course would eventually be replaced by the classical course.

Teachers were reminded that the different courses of the programme corresponded to the needs of the students and to the needs of a well-organized society.²³ Individuals differed in capacity and interests --for instance there were those with a technical spirit who were interested in the "how" of things, and who required a different training from those with a scientific spirit who were interested in the "why" of things.²⁴ Consequently it was necessary that from the first year every student should be placed in a suitable course, due consideration being given not only to intellectual ability but also to "interests, aptitudes, family conditions, and economic circumstances--factors of importance."²⁵ Those whose aptitudes inclined them to continue their education should be reminded by their teachers that they were among the privileged, already

²¹Loc. cit.

²²Quebec, Programme d'Études . . ., 1961, p. 36.

²³Ibid., p. 6.

²⁴Loc. cit.

²⁵Loc. cit., p. 7.

distinguished by their intellectual gifts, and that this privilege carried with it the responsibility of preparing to be "les chefs de demain."²⁶ In order to facilitate the emergence of this intellectual elite teachers were advised to place in the Eighth Grade scientific course only those children who were "gifted, diligent, interested in study, enjoying good health, and coming from a favorable home environment."²⁷ They should have ranked in the top quarter of their class, have a high intelligence quotient, and a satisfactory academic dossier with a general average of at least 70 per cent.²⁸ Subsequent examinations at the end of the Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh and Twelfth Grades advanced the selection process, with transfer generally possible only from the scientific course to the less selective courses.²⁹

The new programme was, then, designed to select from the mass of students moving into public secondary schools a minority of high academic potential who might proceed to university studies, while preparing the remainder for immediate employment at various levels of skill and competence.

In the official program of studies it was pointed out that, in accord with the recommendations of the report of the Sub-Committee for Coordination, the content of each course was coordinated as closely as possible with that of the others. In addition an elaborate justification of

²⁶Loc. cit., p. 6.

²⁷Roland Vinette, "Le classement en huitième année," L'Instruction publique, V (juin 1961), 866.

²⁸Loc. cit.

²⁹Charles Bilodeau, "Debouchés du Cours secondaire public," L'Instruction Publique, V (juin 1961), 827.

course content was presented on the basis of the psychological, physiological, social, and spiritual development of the student.³⁰

The New Programme for the Training of Catholic Public School Teachers

While the Sub-Committee for Coordination was conducting its study, plans were already being drafted to coordinate requirements and courses for teacher training. Consequently, in 1954, a new programme was introduced in the Catholic normal schools.

Prospective secondary teachers were now required to study for a Class B or a Class A diploma. The former authorized a teacher to teach to the Ninth Grade, inclusive,³¹ while the latter permitted him to teach all grades.³²

The Class B diploma was awarded to all student teachers, men and women, on the completion of two years of professional training after the Eleventh Grade.³³

The regular course for the Class A diploma was a four-year one beginning after the Eleventh Grade.³⁴ The first two years were devoted to general academic studies, and might be taken either at a normal school or a classical college.³⁵ The last two years were spent in professional studies, which could be undertaken only at a normal school.³⁶ An effort was made to coordinate the course for the Class A diploma as closely as possible with the last four years of the course

³⁰Quebec, Programme d'Études . . ., 1961, pp. 13 - 30.

³¹Roland Vinette "The Preparation of Teachers in French-speaking Quebec," Education, III, 14 (Toronto: Gage, 1959), 69.

³²Ibid., p. 70.

³³Ibid., p. 68

³⁴Loc. cit.

³⁵Loc. cit., p. 70.

³⁶Loc. cit.

offered in classical colleges, except that the final years of the course for the Class A diploma emphasized pedagogical studies. It was also made possible for the holder of a classical baccalaureate to obtain the Class A diploma after one year of professional studies at a normal school.³⁷

Normal schools and universities were more formally linked when in 1957 an agreement was reached between the Department of Education and the Catholic universities whereby, the holder of a Class A diploma might be awarded the Bachelor of Pedagogy degree and the holder of a Bachelor of Pedagogy degree might be awarded the Class A diploma.³⁸

The new arrangements eliminated the complexities of the old programme, with its different standards for men and women, and it introduced higher standards for certification in general. Women were required to undergo an extra year of training for a certificate authorizing them to teach in the lower secondary grades. For authority to teach in the upper secondary grades men were required to study for one year longer than they had done for the old Superior Certificate, and women were required to study for two years longer. A closer liaison was also effected between the normal schools and universities so that, on the one hand, certain normal school courses were recognized as being at the college level, and on the other hand, it became possible for a university graduate to obtain a teaching certificate without having attended normal school.

³⁷ Loc. cit., p. 68.

³⁸ Université de Montréal, Faculté des Arts, Annuaire, 1962 - 1963 (Montréal, 1962), pp. 45 - 46.

Some fears were expressed that teacher recruitment would be adversely affected by the higher standards demanded for certification but events proved this apprehension to be without foundation. The numbers graduating from normal schools increased considerably,³⁹ and at least one senior education official attributed this increase to the higher standards exacted.⁴⁰

The Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Constitutional Problems (The Tremblay Commission)

In 1953 the government of the Province of Quebec appointed a Royal Commission under the presidency of Judge Thomas Tremblay to study constitutional problems affecting relations between the provincial government and the federal government of Canada. The Commission presented its report in 1956. Although the terms of reference of the Commission did not expressly invite it to study the status of education in Quebec, the Commission did so at considerable length. It justified this action on the grounds that a large number of the briefs submitted to the Commission had been devoted wholly or in part to education.⁴¹ The report contained a number of observations, proposals, and recommendations which, although largely ignored by the government of that time, were most significant for later educational reform.

The Commission observed that the Province of Quebec was faced with major problems peculiar to the time, problems which threatened the survival of the French-Canadian people. Their survival as a

³⁹Loc. cit., p. 76.

⁴⁰Pagé, op. cit., p. 8.

⁴¹Quebec, Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Constitutional Problems, III, Book I (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1956), 144.

national entity and the expansion of their influence depended to a great degree on their success in adapting the educational system to meet contemporary demands. The report stated:

The Province of Quebec is caught up in an economic-social movement which largely extends beyond its borders and from which it could not extricate itself if it would; on the other hand it is invested in the very heart of Canadian Confederation and in respect to America as a whole with a mission which is peculiar to it--the safeguarding of a culture distinct from that of the surrounding peoples. As a result, it must do all in its power to form an elite which will be, in all fields of thought and action, both the expression and the safeguard of this culture . . . Its success . . . is primarily a matter of men, hence schools, and the spreading of knowledge and education.⁴²

The Commission held that the traditional structures of education in the province were no longer adequate to cope with recent sociological changes and felt that the time had come to reorganize and coordinate these structures. On the educational system it observed:

This system was built up in the course of history by simultaneous but not coordinated action. . . . The State, the school boards, and private initiative each acted along what they considered to be their normal lines of action, without considering the overall picture. This may have been sufficient as long as the economic and social structures of the province remained of the rural type and, therefore, relatively simple. The situation has no longer been thus, since the coming of industry and the correlated increase in urbanization. Professional and social positions were multiplied and integrated as a result of the same movement, and the schools of different categories and levels must adapt themselves to a reality which is at once profoundly differentiated and rapidly changing. They cannot do this without overall guidance. They must each, according to their individual character and aims, become part of an educational policy conceived and applied as the demands of our age require. The time has come to organize and coordinate the various accomplishments of the past, and to adapt them to the needs of the present, and the demands of the future.⁴³

The Church, in the opinion of the Commission, had no longer the personnel nor the financial resources required by an expanding school

⁴²Ibid., pp. 170 - 171.

⁴³Ibid., pp. 207 - 208.

system. Its burden would have to be assumed to an increasing extent by public authorities.⁴⁴

The solution of the complex problems confronting education in Quebec required complete, not partial, measures, and called for a general rebuilding of the legal, administrative, and financial framework of the educational system.⁴⁵ To this end the Commission proposed that the study of the system initiated in its report be continued in its own right "taking the sole problem of education as its objective and . . . considering it not only from the financial angle but from different angles: ideological, political, cultural, and constitutional."⁴⁶ The Commissioners felt that "no study could answer a greater need of our society in our time."⁴⁷

In the meantime the Commission made a number of recommendations to alleviate what it saw as the more pressing deficiencies in the educational system. It recommended that free secondary education be made available to all in public schools, and that those who wished to attend private schools should be subsidized. It called for a widening of the local tax base for Catholic secondary education through the amalgamation of school boards. It also approved of a plan to coordinate education both public and private, at all levels, through a central Council of National Education.

The Commission noted that free education was being provided out of public funds in the schools of certain school municipalities, while children in other areas were obliged to pay, or even to attend private

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 150.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 208.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 214.

⁴⁷Loc. cit.

schools at family expense. This perpetrated an injustice on the parents of these children.⁴⁸ On the principle that as soon as post-primary education became a public service financed by taxes, it should become available to all taxpayers in all environments and under all conditions,⁴⁹ the Commission recommended that there be laid upon school boards the financial responsibility for the first four years of general post-primary education, whether such education be provided by the school boards themselves or whether they paid out to such of their people as attended private schools the equivalent of what it would have cost the school boards to educate them.⁵⁰ The latter arrangement would relieve the private schools of much of the burden of trying to improve their facilities on a slim budget with little assistance from public sources. Because public schools would not soon be in a position to provide secondary education for all children the Commission felt that private institutions would continue for a long time to form an essential part of the school system.⁵¹

In order to expand and improve secondary education in Catholic public schools it was recommended that legal provision be made for a widening of the local tax base and a more efficient use of facilities through local school boards either combining or federating with one another.⁵²

To secure administrative coordination of all sectors of education at all levels, the Commission quoted with approval a proposal made in the brief submitted to it by the Montreal branch of the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste. It was proposed in this brief that, since the Council of

⁴⁸Loc. cit., p. 168.

⁴⁹Loc. cit., pp. 168 - 169.

⁵⁰Loc. cit., p. 179.

⁵¹Loc. cit.

⁵²Loc. cit., p. 178.

Public Instruction and the Department of Education seemed unable to assume effectively the vast task entrusted to them, a Department of National Education should be created.⁵³ This would consist of five Councils of Primary, Secondary, Technical, University, and National Education. The Council of National Education would be the coordinating agency. Members of the Councils would, in general, be appointed by the Catholic bishops, the government, and certain bodies directly concerned. The Provincial Secretary and the Minister of Finance would be members by right of the Councils of University Education and National Education. Protestants would be free to continue under the old or a modified system, as they saw fit.⁵⁴

Apart from the findings incorporated in the report itself, further information and proposals were contained in a lengthy appendix on educational needs in Quebec, prepared by Arthur Tremblay.⁵⁵ This appendix essayed a synthesis of the material and views presented in the numerous briefs dealing with education. This was done with the object of giving an integrated description of the needs of education which would be sufficiently precise to help delineate a general policy.⁵⁶ In particular,

⁵³Loc. cit., p. 209.

⁵⁴Loc. cit.

⁵⁵Professor Tremblay was one of the most important figures in Quebec educational reform throughout the decade under review. While Assistant Director of the School of Pedagogy at Laval University he served on the Sub-committee for the Coordination of Education, and did much to promote the Latin-Science sections in classical colleges and the classical sections in public schools. He also served on the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education (the Parent Commission). In 1964 he was appointed Deputy Minister and permanent head of the newly-created Ministry of Education in Quebec.

⁵⁶Arthur Tremblay, Contribution à l'Étude des Problèmes et des Besoins de l'Enseignement dans la Province de Québec: Commission

the appendix dealt with the school population, teacher training, and educational finance.

At the outset, Tremblay criticized the incomplete and incoherent nature of school statistics in the province, which made it impossible to arrive at a completely accurate evaluation of the school system.⁵⁷ In order to remedy this "extremely grave deficiency" he insisted that the government should provide a statistical service capable of completely fulfilling its indispensable function.⁵⁸

On the basis of population and school enrolment statistics, Tremblay compared the attendance and perseverance rates of pupils attending Catholic and Protestant public schools, respectively, over a number of years. He found that in the Catholic schools while 87 per cent of a cohort of boys completed Sixth Grade, only 69 per cent completed Seventh Grade, 35 per cent completed Ninth Grade, and 15 per cent completed Eleventh Grade. In the Protestant schools the figures for corresponding grade levels were 90 per cent, 86 per cent, 67 per cent, and 36 per cent.⁵⁹ After comparing these figures with theoretical figures based on the findings of experimental psychology as these related to intellectual ability, Tremblay concluded that the Catholic schools were far from fulfilling their function, since they failed to bring a sufficient proportion of young people that that level of culture which they could and should attain.⁶⁰

royale d'Enquête sur les Problèmes constitutionnels, Annexe IV (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1956), p. 1.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 13.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 28.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 14.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 37.

On the premise that a society in which most children reach high levels of schooling better fulfils its purpose than one in which most children leave school with an inferior education, Tremblay maintained that a better situation existed among Protestants than among Catholics.⁶¹

To improve the situation he proposed that school attendance be made compulsory to sixteen years--in Catholic schools at least.⁶² To reduce the high incidence of repeaters in Catholic schools he suggested that the curriculum in these schools be such that the average student would spend no more than one year in each grade.⁶³ He also proposed that certain steps be taken to improve teaching conditions so that qualified teachers would be more inclined to remain in the profession.⁶⁴ Tremblay held that an important reason for premature dropouts and numerous repeaters was the lack of trained teachers, and particularly of men teachers in rural areas, and of teachers qualified in counselling and in remedial teaching.⁶⁵ He deplored the rising number of untrained teachers and pointed to the unduly high proportion of unqualified teachers among religious brothers and sisters, who were not obliged by the Education Act to hold a teaching certificate.⁶⁶

With regard to the classical colleges, Tremblay proposed that they be given assistance from public funds in a manner calculated to encourage the increased employment of lay teachers in them.

Referring to the sociological composition of the student population in classical colleges, Tremblay made use of statistics supplied by

⁶¹Ibid., p. 30.

⁶²Ibid., p. 41.

⁶³Ibid., p. 44.

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 65 - 83.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 56.

⁶⁶Loc. cit.

the colleges to demonstrate that a considerable proportion of the children of the professional, administrative and business class attended these institutions. Only a minority of the children of "white collar" workers attended classical colleges, and scarcely any of the children of the "blue collar" working class did.⁶⁷ Since this last group comprised about 70 per cent of the children apt for secondary studies, the classical colleges, in Tremblay's opinion, did not receive more than one-third of the boys who could benefit from their type of education.⁶⁸ To remedy this social inequity he proposed that parents be given allowances to cover in full the cost of general secondary education for their children.⁶⁹

Tremblay justified this proposal for the expansion of educational opportunity on the grounds that it was necessary for the survival of French culture in Canada. He stated:

The time is past when this culture could be preserved by an isolationist, introspective attitude, by a sort of passive negativism. The future calls for a more positive and aggressive approach. . . . We believe that in the elaboration of a vibrant culture adapted to our present circumstances education is now called upon to play a more important role than ever in the past.⁷⁰

He called attention to the fact that French Canadians had, perhaps forever, handed over to foreigners the control of the natural resources of the province. However, they still had resources which they could exploit to the full--their own talents and aptitudes. Because in a modern economy there was a pressing need for administrators who,

⁶⁷Loc. cit., p. 86.

⁶⁸Loc. cit., p. 142.

⁶⁹Loc. cit., p. 148.

⁷⁰Loc. cit., p. 149.

through their ability, were extremely influential in the direction of corporation policy, it was still possible for French Canadians to ensure through these positions the dominance of their ethnic group in the economic, social, and cultural life of the province. . But only through education could these positions be secured.⁷¹

To promote this cultural advance, Tremblay called upon the State to accept its responsibility and assume the necessary expenses for the promotion of education in the province, even if this meant the neglect or sacrifice of other less important commitments.⁷²

At the government level the proposals and recommendations made in the report of the Tremblay Commission and its educational appendix went generally unheeded by those in a position to implement them. Evidence suggests that the propagation of the views expressed was deliberately inhibited by restrictions placed by the government on the distribution of the report.⁷³ The Provincial Secretary, who represented educational interests in the Cabinet, in an address to teachers after the publication of the report, deplored the increases in educational costs which accompanied the increase in school enrolments. He lamented the fact that many parents would not accept their responsibilities and that "an admirable charity" which had provided education at low cost was unable to do so any longer. The increase in the student population had proportionately decreased the active part of the population so that the burden of school taxes fell more heavily upon fewer people. Nevertheless,

⁷¹Loc. cit., p. 150.

⁷²Loc. cit., p. 151.

⁷³Le Devoir, October 6, 1959, p. 4.

although everybody would like the government to increase its support of education, the government was faced with the problems of constructing roads and bridges, of providing for public health, and of maintaining other social services. The Provincial Secretary asserted that in education above all things the State must remain primarily a coordinator of voluntary efforts. Undue participation on its part could lead only too easily to totalitarianism. The menace of Statism, he declared, must be avoided.⁷⁴

That proposals for change were no more welcome in other official quarters was evident from the annual report of the Department of Education. In it the Superintendent of Education denounced those young intellectuals who seemed "bent on repudiating the past and setting forth . . . very advanced ideas which, under the pretext of being modern, hide a profound emptiness, and which are incompatible with the mentality of our population, and still less with Christian morality."⁷⁵ He continued:

Others are attempting, under the guise of progress, to destroy what is most dear to us. For example, in certain places there is a desire to replace our system of education by an improvised organization, or again, to model our school law on that of countries who have made it their business to keep religion out of the school. There seems therefore to be a tendency to forget that nothing permanent can be constructed without taking into account the history, traditions, customs, and legitimate aspirations of a people. An objective analysis of our troubled times reveals the fact that in the countries where these fundamental values have been abandoned, disastrous failure has been recorded in the domain of education. In my opinion, the actual set-up offers a solid guarantee against all subversive elements and is flexible

⁷⁴Yves Prevost, "L'administrateur public et les problèmes de l'éducation," L'Enseignement, IX (avril 1957), 2.

⁷⁵Quebec, Report of the Superintendent of Education, 1955 - 1956 (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1956), p. ix.

enough to leave room for changes and adaptations which permit our people to reach their ideals.⁷⁶

Three years later the Superintendent was still echoing these sentiments. On the eve of an era of change which was to demolish the system he championed, he declared:

For a century it has proved its worth, and that, to me, is the finest indication of its quality. It is, therefore, sometimes astounding to hear certain pernicious critics who, under the pretext of advancement and progress, wish to subject our school system to radical changes.⁷⁷

Developments in Secondary Education, 1959 - 1963

While the educational system of Quebec was not spared criticism in the earlier part of the decade under study, most of the criticism was expressed in reports which, though of considerable import, were academic in style and treatment, and held little appeal for a popular audience. They were not of absorbing interest to the majority of the population, who in their electoral franchise held the final key to change. The latter part of the decade was, however, marked by strong criticism made at the popular level. While the effect of this criticism cannot be empirically estimated, it probably contributed significantly to the continuing approval by the electorate of a mandate for educational reform. The reforms which ensued could scarcely have been so extensive and fundamental without a very large measure of public support and approval.

The death of Maurice Duplessis in September 1959 after twenty years of strong personal rule as Premier of Quebec introduced an atmosphere of criticism and expectation of change. Dupuis notes "a new

⁷⁶Loc. cit.

⁷⁷Omer-Jules Desaulniers, "Message du Surintendant, " L'Instruction Publique, IV (septembre 1959), 1.

spirit in Quebec"⁷⁸ and attributes it in large measure to "the death of a single individual who had a sincere but nevertheless dictatorial and narrow view of what should constitute French Canada."⁷⁹ He refers to those who saw "a dynamic renewal, a fundamental change and even a complete revolution in Quebec."⁸⁰ This atmosphere which surrounded the birth of la révolution tranquille, as it became known in Quebec, was not dissipated during the brief terms of office of Duplessis's successors to the premiership, Paul Sauvé and Antonio Barrette. During those few months a more expansive attitude was shown in legislation which provided increased aid to normal schools, classical colleges and other educational institutions, as well as to local school boards.⁸¹ The pressure of political patronage was reduced by the introduction of statutory norms for the payment of government grants.⁸² This minimized the discretionary nature of much government assistance to education. However, the reforms introduced by Sauvé and Barrette to some extent only emphasized the deficiencies which had been tolerated in the past.

Two of the most important works of criticism directed at the popular level against Quebec's educational system appeared within a year of Mr. Duplessis's death. One was by a brother in a religious teaching order, the other by a journalist and director of one of Quebec's most influential French-language newspapers. Neither attempted to present

⁷⁸ Joseph Rosaire Philippe Dupuis, "A Study of the Changes in the French Catholic System of Education in Quebec from September 1959 to June 1963," unpublished M. Ed. thesis, University of Alberta, 1965, p. 1.

⁷⁹ Loc. cit.

⁸¹ Loc. cit., p. 26

⁸⁰ Loc. cit.

⁸² Loc. cit., p. 27.

his ideas in the academic manner of the Sub-Committee for the Coordination of Education or of the Tremblay Commission, but their writings were perhaps at least as consequential in the evolution of Quebec education. They took the criticisms of the more objective works, personalized and animated them, and laid them before a considerable and receptive audience at a time when they were likely to have the greatest effect. Each book had an unusually high circulation--within four months that of the teaching brother had a sale of more than 100,000 copies,⁸³ more than any other in the history of Quebec publishing, and that of the journalist had sold more than 17,000 copies by the fourth printing.

Les Insolences du Frère Untel

Les Insolences du Frère Untel by Jean-Paul Desbiens, known in religion as Brother Pierre-Jérôme, of the Marist Order, originated in a contentious letter on the complacent and apathetic outlook of French Canadians manifest in the corrupt form of the French language--joual--prevalent among children and adolescents, and tolerated, if not actually taught, in Catholic public schools.⁸⁴ The letter appeared in Le Devoir in November 1959, and was signed by Frère Un Tel--Brother So-and-So, or Brother Anonymous. It aroused immediate controversy which resulted in numerous letters, mostly applauding, to the offices of the newspaper.⁸⁵ Some of these, as well as further letters from the anonymous writer, were published in Le Devoir during the months which followed and were commented upon by André Laurendeau, a prominent editorial writer and French Canadian nationalist.⁸⁶ In his later letters Brother Pierre-Jérôme

⁸³ Hugh Bingham Myers, The Quebec Revolution (Montreal: Harvest House, 1964), p. 43.

⁸⁴ Le Devoir, November 3, 1959, p. 4.

⁸⁵ Myers, op. cit., p. 34.

⁸⁶ Loc. cit.

became more direct in his attack on all involved in Quebec education-- the courses, textbooks, teachers, administrators, even the bishops. His uninhibited and apocalyptic style, his unusual candour, and his transparent sincerity and concern for education ensured a wide circulation for his ideas when his book, based largely on his letters, appeared.

Les Insolences du Frère Untel opened with a warning-- "I work with the axe, though I don't like to. . . . If a man is asleep in a house on fire, the neighbours don't wake him up with Mozart's Eine Kleine Nachtmusik. They yell at him, and if he sleeps soundly, they kick him out of bed."⁸⁷ The author then proceeded to lay his axe to what he considered the roots of the malaise which he saw in French Canadian society, and in particular to the Catholic educational system of the province.

The Department of Education was his prime target, and through it the Catholic Committee. In fact he used "Department" as a generic term which seemed to embrace all educational officialdom. He denounced the Department as a bureaucratic monster so regimented and yet so complex that it was impossible to find anyone within it who was responsible for anything.⁸⁸ It had been set up a century before with the purpose of dodging Protestantism and anglicization and was given no goal but the avoidance of a precipice.⁸⁹ The defects of the public secondary school

⁸⁷ Jean-Paul Desbiens, [in religion Brother Pierre-Jérôme] Les Insolences du Frère Untel, trans. Miriam Chapin, The Impertinences of Brother Anonymous (Montreal: Harvest House, 1963), p. 23.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 40.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 37.

system had sprung from this:

Everything about it has been improvised, programmes, textbooks, teachers. Public opinion demanded public secondary education. They were sold the label, pasted on an empty bottle . . . For one thing, they [not identified] wanted to save the private secondary schools, considered the national preserve of the priesthood,⁹⁰ and for another thing they also wanted to satisfy public opinion.

In particular the author singled out the "mess of programmes"⁹¹ as indicative of the incompetence of the Department. The frequent and unheralded changes in the courses had left teachers demoralized, waiting passively "for the ukases of our beloved Department."⁹² The Catholic Secretary, who "works hard to say nothing,"⁹³ and whose directives were compared to a "surrealist poem,"⁹⁴ attempted to disguise the selectivity implicit in the structuring of the curriculum into separate tracks, but all teachers knew that success was not merely a question of intellectual aptitude but was related to the fact that "only 12 per cent of the population can aspire to university studies."⁹⁵

Brother Pierre-Jérôme saw the overweening paternalism of the central authority and the abject slavery of the teachers as a reflection of the Catholic way of life in the province--"Quebec's is a Catholicism of Counter-Reformation, conquered by the Protestants, resulting in a shriveled, timid, ignorant Catholicism reduced to a morality, a sexual morality at that, and even so, negative."⁹⁶ Teachers lived in dread of an authority which aborted all their efforts and silenced their criticisms:

⁹⁰Ibid., pp. 37 - 38.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 90.

⁹²Ibid., p. 46.

⁹³Ibid., p. 40.

⁹⁴Loc. cit.

⁹⁵Loc. cit., p. 42.

⁹⁶Loc. cit., p. 61.

If we write, all our propositions must be justifiable before possible inquisitors; if we act, all our actions must be measured by the traditional standard, that is, they must be repetitions of previous actions. We choose the safest way, to say nothing, to do nothing, to stand still.⁹⁷

Brother Pierre-Jérôme attributed what he saw as the failure of the educational system to a paralysis of thought itself, for "nobody in French Canada dares to think--at least nobody dares think out loud."⁹⁸ He blamed the Catholic universities in particular for their detachment and indifference, and pictured professors who shut themselves into their ivory towers far from the problems of life, where they commented on the commentaries on Saint Thomas Aquinas and seemed to take a pride in writing nothing.⁹⁹ Only the anticlericals were left to take the Department to task, but nobody paid much heed to these, so that a general complacency prevailed:

So then we have the best system of education in the world. . . . We are a hundred and fifty years ahead of all other countries as to the essential thing (which is heaven), aren't we? The proof that all is well lies in the absence of any quarrels over the schools since 1867. Another proof is that the Council of Education meets only once in fifty-two years. The last meeting before this was in 1908, and then they met only to congratulate each other, promoting each other to sainthood.¹⁰⁰

An important item in Les Insolences du Frère Untel was a letter received by Brother Pierre-Jérôme after one of his own letters had appeared in Le Devoir. The writer of the letter, with whose views Brother Pierre-Jérôme apparently concurred, launched a philippic against the educational system on the grounds of tyranny, incompetence, irresponsibility, and social injustice--tyranny, because the system was

⁹⁷Loc. cit., p. 58.

⁹⁸Loc. cit., p. 49.

⁹⁹Loc. cit., p. 51.

¹⁰⁰Loc. cit., p. 36.

one of medieval privilege, of complicity between clerics and powerful, of sanctimonious angelism and arrogant incompetence, of dogmatism and obscurantism and of holy irresponsibility; incompetence, because no qualification other than the title of bishop was required to become supreme arbiter in educational matters, no qualification other than the title of priest was necessary to become principal of a normal school, and no qualification other than the title of brother or sister was necessary to teach in Catholic public schools; irresponsibility, because no official of the Department of Education was elected by the people, nor was there any appeal from the decisions of the Department; social injustice, as this was evident in the timidity and reluctance with which the authorities approached the matter of free education, although they knew that the poor, who constituted the great majority of Quebec's population, contributed less than 30 per cent of its university students.¹⁰¹

Despite his uninhibited attack on Quebec's most hallowed institutions, Brother Pierre-Jérôme rejected alike the anticlericals whom he saw rejoicing in his statements, and the frightened devotees who would cry "dirty bird"--"To the others I say that it is better to be caught cleaning out the nest, which I am doing in my own way, than to be shamefully hiding the manure."¹⁰² He emphasized that he was a Catholic who could not live for five minutes outside the Church, and that his only purpose in writing was to serve the Church.¹⁰³ He maintained that the confusion of the sacred and the profane regularly worked to the detriment of the sacred, and warned the church that its position in Quebec could

¹⁰¹Loc. cit., pp. 47 - 48.

¹⁰²Loc. cit., p. 121.

¹⁰³Loc. cit.

lead to the disaffection of French Canadians.¹⁰⁴ Things might appear well on the surface but this was no guarantee of the future--"Though attendance at pilgrimages has not fallen off, this ought not to fool people. In Spain, too, priests were held in high honor until they were shot--one thousand in the diocese of Barcelona alone."¹⁰⁵ He felt that the youth of the province was spoiled beyond what could be seen, and this despite so many thousand hours of religious instruction in the province every year.¹⁰⁶ Besides his anxiety for the welfare of the Church, Brother Pierre-Jérôme also intimated a deep concern for the future of French Canadians in Quebec--"I make a fuss because I don't want my people to miss the boat. We mustn't miss the boat, we're far enough behind anyhow."¹⁰⁷

Soon after his book was published, Brother Pierre-Jérôme was required by his religious superiors to leave for Europe to continue his theological studies there.¹⁰⁸

Les Confidences d'un Commissaire d'Écoles

While Brother Pierre-Jérôme attempted to demolish what appeared to be the hallowed but dilapidated edifice of Quebec's school system, he did not suggest what might be done to replace it. This was attempted by Gérard Filion, the director of Le Devoir, in a companion volume to Les Insolences du Frere Untel entitled Les Confidences d'un Commissaire d'Ecoles. This work was published shortly after Brother Pierre-Jérôme's book. That it was strongly influenced by the educational ideas of the Tremblay Commission is clear from the frequent

¹⁰⁴Loc. cit., p. 68

¹⁰⁵Loc. cit.

¹⁰⁶Loc. cit., p. 69.

¹⁰⁷Loc. cit., p. 120.

¹⁰⁸Myers, op. cit., p. 41.

references Filion made to the Tremblay report, and the similarity between his suggestions and those of the Tremblay Commission.

As Filion reminisced on his experiences as a school board member he commented on what he saw as the shortcomings of education in Quebec. He attributed the low economic status of French Canadians to their poor education when he said:

It is often asked why French Canadians monopolize the unstable and ill-paid jobs in the city of Montreal, as dockers, navvies, and laborers of all sorts. The explanation is simple: scarcely knowing how to read and write, they are not able to pursue a vocational course which would permit them to rise in the hierarchy of employment. They are condemned to social inferiority, to spend their lives vegetating in the lowest ranks of the proletariat.¹⁰⁹

He reminded his readers of an inquiry which had been conducted in a certain part of the province in 1957 which revealed that the ranks of the unemployed were filled almost entirely by those who had not gone beyond the seventh year of schooling while all of those who had completed secondary school were well employed.¹¹⁰

Filion recalled a comment of the Tremblay Commission that French Canadians were a generation behind in education.¹¹¹ He attributed this in large measure to the inadequate education received by most Catholic children, but particularly by children in rural areas whose only means of education was the little range school with its willing but incompetent school-mistress.¹¹² He contrasted this state of affairs with the happier situation of the Protestant minority who, through their central school boards were able to provide free education to the twelfth year almost everywhere in the province.¹¹³ He saw regional school boards

¹⁰⁹ Gérard Filion, *Les Confidences d'un Commissaire d'Écoles* (Montréal: Les Éditions de l'Homme, 1960), p. 38.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

¹¹² *Loc. cit.*

¹¹³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 117.

as a necessity in the Catholic sector.¹¹⁴

Filion attacked as a fundamental weakness in the school system that section of the Education Act which barred parents from serving on a school board or voting in school board elections unless they were property owners. In his opinion, property owners who had no children but who served on school boards and voted in elections were often more interested in keeping taxes low than in providing the best education.¹¹⁵

He criticized the unsupportable burden placed upon some school boards by what had been the government practice of exempting favored corporations from municipal and school taxes.¹¹⁶ He approved of a recommendation made by the Tremblay Commission that a uniform corporation tax be collected throughout the province and its proceeds be divided among municipalities and school boards according to population.¹¹⁷

On the question of free secondary education for all, Filion considered this to be inevitable, and visualized the time when education at the college level would also be free.¹¹⁸ Parents were realizing that a primary certificate alone limited employment opportunities for their children, and that the most advanced education was necessary in this age of automation.¹¹⁹ He proposed that the cost to Catholic parents of educating their children be further reduced by each school board

¹¹⁴Loc. cit., p. 96.

¹¹⁵Loc. cit., pp. 13 - 14.

¹¹⁶Loc. cit., pp. 60 - 61.

¹¹⁷Loc. cit., p. 63.

¹¹⁸Loc. cit., pp. 75 - 76.

¹¹⁹Loc. cit., p. 77.

providing free textbooks for the children in its schools. This was already being done in the Protestant sector of the Quebec school system.¹²⁰

The central educational authority was attacked by Filion on the grounds that it had become anomalous and quite unable to fulfill its functions. Filion considered the Catholic Committee incapable of adapting itself to modern conditions, as it was then constituted. It was unwieldy and unrepresentative, and its members were often ill-acquainted with educational problems, and too preoccupied with other matters.¹²¹ He maintained, however, that with all its faults, the Catholic Committee had been criticized too harshly by those who failed to observe that the Committee had less power than was generally believed. He held that the blame had really lain with a government which feared that it would be required to spend too much by expanding opportunity for secondary education.¹²²

Education in general was hampered by a lamentable lack of coordination among the various school levels and programmes. The autonomous universities introduced changes at the top which had serious repercussions on the unprepared lower levels of the educational structure. Frequent and ill-considered changes in course content, subject material, and textbooks left teachers and students bewildered, and contributed to high failure rates in examinations. Such instability Filion condemned as savoring of improvisation and amateurism.¹²³

¹¹⁹Loc. cit., p. 77.

¹²⁰Loc. cit., p. 81.

¹²¹Loc. cit., p. 99.

¹²²Loc. cit., p. 120.

¹²³Loc. cit., pp. 100 - 101.

In his proposals for reform, Filion advocated the unification of all educational institutions under a single administrative authority. Although he referred to a Ministry of Education as a possible solution, he intimated that this was no certain panacea for Quebec's educational ills.¹²⁴ Instead, he seemed to favour an authority somewhat similar to that proposed in the Tremblay Commission report. This implied a reorganized Department of Education with jurisdiction over all levels of education.¹²⁵ It would be headed by a permanent official who would be a first-class educator of university standing, familiar with the most recent developments in scientific pedagogy.¹²⁶ A reformed and numerically reduced Council of Education would still function as an intermediate body between the government and the schools.¹²⁷

Finally, in order to reveal clearly the state of education in the province, Filion repeated the recommendation of the Tremblay Commission that another Royal Commission be appointed to undertake a complete inventory of the educational system of Quebec, pointing out all its strengths and weaknesses.¹²⁸

Educational Reform in Quebec, 1960 - 1961

When the new government of Premier Jean Lesage took office in July 1960, although it held only a slim majority in the Legislative Assembly it at once set about implementing a programme of fundamental educational reform, the outlines of which had been described in

¹²⁴Loc. cit., pp. 94 - 95. ¹²⁵Loc. cit., p. 96.

¹²⁶Loc. cit., p. 97. ¹²⁷Loc. cit., pp. 98 - 99.

¹²⁸Loc. cit., p. 119.

its official election platform. Of the eight sections devoted to education in the election manifesto of the Liberal party, four had a direct bearing on secondary education. These were that free schooling would be provided at all levels, that free textbooks would be provided in all schools, that education would be made compulsory to sixteen years, and that a Royal Commission on Education would be constituted.¹²⁹ The new government did not confine itself to legislative action in these areas, however, but introduced a number of other changes which cumulatively led to a radical modification of educational services in the province.

Before introducing any major legislation, however, the new premier effected a major administrative change by transferring the responsibility of representing general public education in the Cabinet from the Provincial Secretary to the Minister of Youth, who had previously been responsible only for technical education. The Ministry of Youth was made responsible for the economic aspects of education, while the pedagogical aspects still rested with the Department of Education. The new Minister of Youth, Paul Gérin-Lajoie, appointed Arthur Tremblay as technical advisor to his Department, and at once set about preparing and publicizing a body of educational legislation to be introduced in the following legislative session.

Premier Lesage made clear the importance his government attached to the promotion of education as an instrument of national survival and economic progress, and his determination to pursue a

¹²⁹ Herbert Quinn, The Union Nationale: a Study in Quebec Nationalism (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 181.

policy to that end. At the inauguration of Education Week in March 1961, he delivered an important address to this effect, in which he said:

Humanity tends to forget small nations. These run the risk of being by-passed by history, at least when they fail to attract the attention of larger nations by some particular achievements. In Quebec we run the risk of being overlooked, of being forgotten. . . . Such is the miserable end which history often reserves for national minorities, for little countries, and for peoples who have not by their originality impressed themselves upon others. French Canada has always refused and will continue to refuse obstinately to disappear. . . . I have always said that education presents us with a means of safeguarding our national entity. In fact, to my mind it is the means of attaining that end, because it is only through education that we can preserve those factors which from day to day have enabled us to survive: our language and our culture. . . . The assimilation of our people will thus become impossible, for it will encounter a fierce resistance arising not from a defensive reflex but from a vivacious and productive internal dynamism. . . . Such a culture, expressed in our institutions and transmitted by them, can without danger assimilate the discoveries and the progress of foreign peoples. Those who are thus animated may, still without danger, undertake the reconquest of our economic riches, and by their action, show that the intellectual values of our people need not, as they have hitherto done, deprive them of material wealth. Indeed, there is no opposition between the two, as we have often been led to believe. Our educational system ought to transmit that idea to the younger generation.

One may say then that, for French Canada, education is truly the guarantee of the future.¹³⁰

The Minister of Youth, Mr. Gérin-Lajoie, in his maiden address to the Catholic Committee presided over by the Archbishop of Montreal, Cardinal Léger, forecast increased State intervention in the administration of education. He reminded the Catholic Committee of its efforts to coordinate the academic content of education, and quoted Cardinal Léger as saying:

This task of coordination has not yet ended. Much remains for us to do in order to open up all those avenues of knowledge which lead to positions of command and which enable a people to

¹³⁰ Jean Lesage, "Conférence prononcée à Montréal au banquet d'inauguration de la Semaine de l'Éducation, " L'Instruction publique, VI (mai 1961), 773.

assert itself and take its place beside other nations.¹³¹

Gérin-Lajoie maintained that the State was equally justified in its action of consolidating the economic responsibility for education in a minister of the government. He stated:

The coordination of the whole educational system which you are attempting at the academic level is no less necessary at the administrative level which is of more direct concern to the government of the province. The administration of public funds and their application to education cannot be left to the hazards of circumstance. They must be inspired by long-term planning, taking into account the different economic, social, and cultural factors, as well as demographic factors, which can affect the development of each part of the system and of the whole system. . . . A coordinated administrative plan, in addition to a coordinated academic plan, is an essential condition of the effort needed to prepare our province in rational fashion to face its responsibilities in the domain of education.¹³²

This aim of centralizing and coordinating education in all its aspects was seen by the Minister as essential to the economic use of the human and financial resources of the province. In June 1961, while presenting a series of school bills to the Legislative Assembly, he declared:

Certainly, we do not lack human resources, nor financial resources, but if it is desirable to put available resources to the best use, then it seems necessary to coordinate effectively the very institutions and structures of education. These institutions and structures, which sprang up in large measure spontaneously, continue to exist with much overlapping, and with many interstices and blind alleys. These result in a waste of material and human resources which must be avoided. . . . It is necessary to ensure communication among the different levels of education, to avoid conflicts of jurisdiction, and to reduce the waste of money, and particularly of talent and energy.¹³³

¹³¹Paul Gérin-Lajoie, "Le Ministre de la Jeunesse au Comité Catholique," L'Instruction publique, V (novembre 1960), 192.

¹³²Ibid., p. 193.

¹³³Paul Gérin-Lajoie, Pourquoi le Bill 60 (Montréal: Les Éditions du Jour, 1963), p. 51.

Educational Legislation

The series of acts and amendments passed by the Quebec Legislature in the spring and summer of 1961 were so fundamental and far-reaching that collectively they have been referred to as 'la grande charte de l'éducation.' By these legislative actions a Royal Commission on Education was constituted, free secondary education was provided for all children, private education was assisted, teacher-training bursaries were made available, the school leaving age was raised, and students were encouraged to remain at school by means of student allowances.

Provision was made for the constitution of a Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education which would study the organization and financing of education in the province and present a report with recommendations designed to promote the progress of education in the province.¹³⁴

School boards, which had previously been obliged to provide primary education, were now obliged to provide education to the eleventh grade, inclusive.¹³⁵ To do this, a school board might provide secondary classes in its own schools, might form part of a regional school board,¹³⁶ or might conclude a financial arrangement with another school board for the secondary education of the children in its area.¹³⁷ School boards were forbidden to charge any fee-all tuition, transportation,¹³⁸ and textbooks¹³⁹ had to be supplied free. Where a child preferred to attend

¹³⁴ Quebec, Revised Statutes (1960 - 1961), c. 25, sec. 1.

¹³⁵ Ibid., c. 28, sec. 2. ¹³⁶ Ibid., c. 28, sec. 489.

¹³⁷ Ibid., c. 28, sec. 497. ¹³⁸ Ibid., c. 29, sec. 257.

¹³⁹ Ibid., c. 29, sec. 223 (e).

a private secondary school, his school board was required to pay his enrolment and tuition fees to a maximum of two hundred dollars a year,¹⁴⁰ and to pay twelve dollars a year towards the cost of his textbooks.¹⁴¹

Regional school boards might be formed by a number of local school boards with the object of providing secondary education. Each local board would elect delegates, who in turn would elect the members of the regional board. This board would administer secondary education in the area of its jurisdiction, but would be supported by taxes collected by local boards. The regional board was required to report to its local boards every year.¹⁴²

To enable school boards to meet their increased commitments a new schedule of government grants was drawn up. Grants were distributed on a statutory basis to defray the costs of school administration and maintenance, teachers' salaries, fees for private schools, textbooks, libraries, school transportation, and school building.¹⁴³ Instead of the normal grants, the Catholic and Protestant school boards of Montreal and Quebec City were paid a sum of 175 dollars per student in the secondary course.¹⁴⁴ A sales tax of two per cent was extended throughout the province for the promotion of education, and its proceeds were to be divided among all school boards.¹⁴⁵ Private secondary

¹⁴⁰Ibid., c. 28, sec. 497 (a).

¹⁴¹Ibid., c. 29, sec. 223.

¹⁴²Ibid., c. 28, sec. 489 - 496.

¹⁴³Ibid., c. 61A, sec. 2 - 12.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., c. 61A, sec. 14.

¹⁴⁵Charles Bilodeau, "Les nouvelles lois scolaires," L'Instruction publique, VI (octobre 1961), 153.

schools were also paid a basic sum by the government and an additional sum for each pupil.¹⁴⁶ The administration of these grants was entrusted to the Ministry of Youth rather than to the Superintendent of Education.¹⁴⁷

Parents who did not own property were given some influence over school board policy by a law which gave to the father, mother, or guardian, of every child under eighteen years the right to vote in school board elections, whether a property owner or not.¹⁴⁸

To facilitate the university training of teachers, bursaries of from 1200 to 3500 dollars a year were made available by the State to teachers and students who undertook courses leading to a university degree applicable to teaching in a public secondary school, normal school, or classical college.¹⁴⁹ Bursaries of from 3000 to 4000 dollars a year were made available to those who already held a master's degree and who wished to study for a doctorate in pedagogy or in psychology, law or economics as these applied to education.¹⁵⁰

The school leaving age was raised to fifteen years.¹⁵¹ It was hoped to raise this to sixteen years eventually. In the meantime, students of sixteen and seventeen years were encouraged to remain in school by monthly allowances of ten dollars.¹⁵²

Enrolments in Secondary Schools

Between 1959 and 1962 the rapid increase in secondary school enrolments which had been evident during the 1953 - 1959 period

¹⁴⁶ Quebec, Revised Statutes, c. 33, sec. 13 (a).

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., c. 32, sec. 22. ¹⁴⁸ Ibid., c. 30, sec. 125.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., c. 26, sec. 3 - 5. ¹⁵⁰ Ibid., c. 26, sec. 13 - 15.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., c. 29, sec. 8. ¹⁵² Ibid., c. 37, sec. 3.

continued at an accelerated pace.¹⁵³ By 1962 the enrolment in State-subsidized secondary schools had risen to 287,800, an increase of 91,600, or 46 per cent in an interval of three years.¹⁵⁴ The increase was particularly marked in Catholic public schools where enrolments rose by more than 74,600 students, or over 56 per cent of the enrolment in 1959.¹⁵⁵

The expansion of educational opportunity due to the legislation of 1961 no doubt contributed significantly to this increase in student numbers. Whereas in 1960 and 1961 the annual rate of increase had been about 12 per cent, in 1962 it rose to over 16 per cent.¹⁵⁶ In addition, factors mentioned for the 1953 - 1959 period continued in force-- the demand for a more educated labor force, continuing urbanization, rising standards of living, and an expanding adolescent population which by 1961 had increased by 198,000 or more than 23 per cent over the population for 1956.¹⁵⁷

The 1959 - 1963 period was marked by a willingness on the part of the provincial government to assume a greater share of the financial burden imposed by mounting school enrolments. The government took steps to relieve the pressure on local property tax by increasing

¹⁵³Enrolment statistics for 1963 - 1964 presented in the First Report of the Minister of Education are incomplete and do not permit comparison with figures for 1959 - 1962.

¹⁵⁴Quebec, Report of the Superintendent of Education, 1961 - 1962, pp. 178, 371; Quebec, Annuaire Statistique, 1963, p. 245.

¹⁵⁵Quebec, Report of the Superintendent of Education, 1961 - 1962, p. 178.

¹⁵⁶Quebec, Report of the Superintendent of Education, 1961 - 1962, pp. 178 - 371; Quebec, Annuaire Statistique, 1963, p. 245.

¹⁵⁷Quebec, Annuaire Statistique, 1963, p. 110.

its grants to education, so that by 1962 the government share of provincial educational expenditures had risen by 21 per cent over that assumed in 1959, and the proportion of the school boards' contribution had declined by 33 per cent.¹⁵⁸ This trend continued in 1963.¹⁵⁹ Throughout the 1959 - 1963 period the combined contributions of the provincial government and the local school boards towards education in Quebec increased from 281 million dollars to over 510 million dollars.¹⁶⁰

Attitude of the Church towards Educational Changes

The attitude of the Church in Quebec as expressed by prominent spokesmen among the clergy was favourable to the changes being introduced by the Lesage government, as long as these changes did not militate against confessional public schools and the right of the Church to conduct private educational institutions.

In June 1961, the Archbishop of Montreal, Cardinal Léger, expressed his views in an address which was subsequently published and was widely circulated. In this address the Cardinal showed an awareness of the important social and economic changes which were affecting the province and which were overthrowing the old social order. Technical progress had resulted in industrialization, urbanization, and social mobility. These changes had some disadvantages but these were compensated for by the emergence of new values.¹⁶¹ Catholic schools had

¹⁵⁸ Quebec, First Report of the Minister of Education, p. 50.

¹⁵⁹ Loc. cit.

¹⁶⁰ Loc. cit., p. 49.

¹⁶¹ Paul-Émile Cardinal Léger, Réflexions pastorales sur notre enseignement (Montréal: L'Archevêché de Montréal, 1961), pp. 11 - 12.

an important role to play in the new order. The Cardinal reminded his listeners that Catholic schools were sometimes accused of deprecating the artistic, scientific, technical and economic values in favour of more other-worldly values. In his opinion, however, the task of the Christian, which must be reflected in education, was not only to save his soul but to introduce Christ into all spheres of the secular world.¹⁶² In this connection he welcomed the growing numbers of laymen as teachers and administrators in Catholic schools. He hoped for increased collaboration between clergy, religious, and laymen in the future conduct of Catholic education.¹⁶³ He noted a general aspiration to higher levels of education reflected in soaring enrolments at the secondary and university levels brought about by a legitimate desire for social promotion and for success in a technical environment.¹⁶⁴ This presented problems for the traditional educational institutions of the province, but these could be solved through dialogue and collaboration, and a process of prudent adaptation. The Cardinal declared:

It seems to us that it is important to welcome with a broad outlook these developments in our society, to examine our institutions with loyalty and with great internal liberty, and to distinguish clearly between those elements of our cultural tradition which are permanent and those which are merely provisional.¹⁶⁵

He cautioned, however, that in the task of adaptation which lay ahead it was essential that the rights of parents, Church, and State, be kept in mind and preserved.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶²Ibid., pp. 26 - 27.

¹⁶³Ibid., pp. 19 - 23.

¹⁶⁴Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁶⁵Loc. cit.

¹⁶⁶Loc. cit., pp. 14 - 15.

Monsignor Maurice [later Cardinal] Roy, Archbishop of Quebec, expressed similar views in an address to teachers in November 1961. He encouraged his audience to familiarize themselves with the views of Cardinal Léger.¹⁶⁷ Although denying that all criticisms of the educational system were well-founded, he admitted that much could and should be done to improve the situation, provided that the principle of confessionality was respected.¹⁶⁸ The Archbishop declared: "Today, everybody desires good schools, well-paid teachers, and an extended education. . . . Let us advance, with God's blessing!"¹⁶⁹

In an address delivered in March 1961, Monsignor Irenée Lussier, Rector of the University of Montreal, publicly praised the Lesage government for its efforts in education. He stressed the importance of education as an investment in social and economic progress, and quoted from the proceedings of an international conference held in Mexico in 1960 to the effect that the financing of educational development was no problem in a society which had the will to do so and was prepared to pay the price in increased taxation.¹⁷⁰ Monsignor Lussier continued:

I wish to pay homage to the good will of our government. We are definitely going in the right direction. In the choice between underdevelopment and explosive development, the responsibility is today in the hands of our educators.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ Monsignor Maurice Roy, "Allocution de Son Excellence Monsignor Maurice Roy," L'Instruction publique, VI (janvier 1962), 397.

¹⁶⁸ Loc. cit., pp. 398 - 399.

¹⁶⁹ Loc. cit., p. 397.

¹⁷⁰ Monsignor Irenée Lussier, "Conférence prononcée à Montréal au banquet d'inauguration de la Semaine de l'Éducation," L'Instruction publique, V (mai 1961), 781.

¹⁷¹ Loc. cit.

He pointed to the need for educational planning and research in order to secure the most efficient use of resources:

Just as the direction of a healthy economy is no game of chance, in the same way that major investment, education, must be submitted to intensive study. Everything should be directed towards securing the maximum return from the capital invested. Educational systems and methods should become the object of detailed research in order to eliminate all waste of time and talent.¹⁷²

However, while acknowledging the need for a constant adaptation of education to the demands of progress, Monsignor Lussier emphasized that this should not involve a complete break with the past, for in his view education which turned its back completely on tradition was no longer education.¹⁷³

The Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education
(The Parent Commission)

In April 1961 a Royal Commission was appointed by the Lesage government. By its terms of reference it was required to study and report on the organization and financing of education in Quebec, and to recommend measures designed to ensure the progress of education.¹⁷⁴ The chairman was Monsignor Alphonse-Marie Parent, vice-rector of Laval University, and the vice-chairman was Gérard Filion. Other members were Paul Larocque, an industrial executive; David Munroe, head of teacher-training at McGill University; Jeanne Lapointe, a professor at Laval University; John McIlhone, senior administrator in the

¹⁷²Loc. cit., p. 780.

¹⁷³Loc. cit.

¹⁷⁴Quebec, Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1963), I, ix.

English section of the Montreal Catholic School Commission; Guy Rocher, head of the sociology department at the University of Montreal; and Sister Marie-Laurent de Rome, a member of a religious teaching order. Arthur Tremblay was associate member, and Louis-Philippe Audet was secretary.¹⁷⁵ The Commission became generally known as the Parent Commission.

The Commission held public meetings throughout the province, visited educational institutions and consulted with numerous individuals in special meetings. It accepted over three hundred briefs before presenting the first section of its report to the government in April 1963.¹⁷⁶ The members of the Commission were unanimous in their findings and recommendations.

The first three chapters of the report outlined the history of education in the province, particularly as it affected the organizational and administrative structure of the educational system; it sketched the legislative basis for education as it was organized in 1961; it abstracted fundamental principles embodied in the educational system at that time-- a respect for the rights of parents, a generous place for the churches in education, free public education to the end of secondary school, and the right of private individuals to conduct schools; and it presented an analytical description of education as it was offered at the different levels and in different types of institutions.¹⁷⁷

Attention was drawn in the opening chapters to the fact that the Cabinet, although the custodian of executive power, exercised no

¹⁷⁶Loc. cit., p. ix.

¹⁷⁷Loc. cit., pp. 1 - 56.

effective control over the direction of public education, while the Catholic and Protestant Committees were practically autonomous and quite independent of each other. The Commission viewed this lack of articulation between the government and the Committees as a serious obstacle to the achievement of an overall educational policy.¹⁷⁸ It criticized the complex mechanism of the Catholic Committee with its numerous ancillary commissions, sub-commissions and sub-committees, which made it necessary for a question under consideration to pass through so many stages that it ceased to be anybody's responsibility.¹⁷⁹ The Commission frequently pointed to the complexity of school legislation, the duplication and overlapping of services, the numerous educational institutions operating at the same level, and the general lack of coordination among educational sectors, institutions, and authorities.¹⁸⁰

In the later chapters of the first section of the report, the general problems of Quebec education were presented against a background of educational problems, ideals, and reforms elsewhere. Education throughout the world faced difficulties caused by exploding school enrolments, scientific and technological revolution, changing living conditions, and changing intellectual attitudes.¹⁸¹ These phenomena and the problems they generated were also part of the educational scene in Quebec.

The unprecedented increase in student numbers in the province had not been foreseen, with the result that makeshift solutions

¹⁷⁸Loc. cit., p. 34.

¹⁷⁹Loc. cit., p. 40.

¹⁸⁰Loc. cit., pp. 26, 42, 46, 48, 56.

¹⁸¹Loc. cit., p. 57.

had to be devised such as the improvisation of school accommodation and the employment of inadequately prepared teachers. These solutions were detrimental to the quality of instruction.¹⁸²

Scientific and technological advances had led to a multiplication of tertiary occupations, to a raising of the standard of living, and to an increased demand for education as an item of consumption. But education was also a factor of production without which further progress would be impossible. As an essential factor in economic development education must be considered an investment.¹⁸³ In this connection the Commission quoted the conclusion of a conference held in Italy in 1960:

The development of education is partly the consequence of society's growing wealth. The increased product of an expanding economy makes possible the development of education by making the necessary resources available. Yet education is at the same time an essential factor in economic development. Up until the present, education has above all been viewed as chargeable to consumption. In the future it must above all be regarded as an investment.¹⁸⁴

The Commission maintained that under modern social and economic conditions it was essential that the general public be well-educated, and that special attention be given to the training of those who would be engaged in tertiary occupations.¹⁸⁵ In order to ensure the educational progress which the Commission saw as necessary for economic advancement and national development, the report stated:

Education must therefore be re-thought in terms of a master plan, and this plan must constantly be revised in the light of changes, not only as they occur, but as they may be foreseen in the future. If these ends are to be achieved, it is imperative to establish some agency for educational guidance which will be powerful enough to coordinate all efforts. . . .¹⁸⁶

¹⁸²Loc. cit., p. 58.

¹⁸³Loc. cit., p. 64.

¹⁸⁴Loc. cit., pp. 63 - 64.

¹⁸⁵Loc. cit., p. 64.

¹⁸⁶Loc. cit.

The Commission noted that the rapid urbanization of the population presented problems for an educational system which had been constituted in the rural society of a century before. The city offered greater freedom to the individual, but it also subjected him to the pressures of advertising, easy credit, and mass propaganda. This situation imposed new responsibilities on the schools.¹⁸⁷ Ways of thinking, too, had changed. Democracy had been tested in the upheavals of the previous thirty years and had acquired a greater value than ever before. A new spirit of brotherhood was evident among churches, and nations were submerging their differences in economic alliances.¹⁸⁸ There had been a change of attitude towards women, who were now securing high positions outside the home. All of these changes would have to be taken into account in adapting the schools to meet the demands of society.¹⁸⁹

In keeping with its new responsibilities and the trend of world developments, the Parent Commission maintained that the Quebec educational system should provide equality of educational opportunity for all, make advanced education accessible to all, and prepare the citizens of the province for life in a modern society.¹⁹⁰ This would require large schools equipped with libraries, gymnasiums, workshops, and audio-visual apparatus, and staffed by highly-trained professional teachers.¹⁹¹ This called for the complete coordination of public and

¹⁸⁷Loc. cit., pp. 66 - 67.

¹⁸⁸Loc. cit., pp. 69 - 70.

¹⁸⁹Loc. cit., p. 70.

¹⁹⁰Loc. cit., pp. 75 - 76.

¹⁹¹Loc. cit., p. 77.

private education which would eliminate the dead ends which a student might encounter on his way towards advanced studies, and enable him to transfer from one institution to another without difficulty or loss of prestige.¹⁹²

The growing demand and need for education had produced a situation where education could no longer be left to the uncoordinated efforts of public and private agencies. It must, in the opinion of the Commission, become preponderantly the concern of the State, which alone had the power and the resources to apply broad solutions and to focus effort for effective action at the political, economic, and scientific levels of national life. Only the State could organize the master plan designed for the common good which would eliminate duplication, concentrate effort, and direct financial support towards a better and more extensive use of educational resources.¹⁹³ To implement such a plan called for a strong and forthright authority. The Commission recommended that this authority be a Ministry of Education directed by a Minister of Education and consisting of officials of the highest competence.¹⁹⁴ This agency would unite the diverse elements of the educational system into a simple administrative entity responsible to the legislature and the public. In addition there should be a Superior Council of Education which would represent and give a platform to groups with a special interest in education. This Superior Council would act as a unified body to advise the Minister of Education and assist him in educational planning.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² Loc. cit., p. 78.

¹⁹³ Loc. cit., p. 80.

¹⁹⁴ Loc. cit., p. 86

¹⁹⁵ Loc. cit., pp. 86 - 87.

In general, the Ministry of Education would differ from the Department of Education in being headed by a Deputy Minister directly responsible to a government minister rather than a Superintendent responsible to permanent committees; in being charged with the administration of all public education, both general and technical, rather than being confined to general education; and in being a single administrative unit rather than two independent sections for Catholics and Protestants. Protestant interests would still be safeguarded by an Associate Deputy Minister of Protestant persuasion, and by officers in charge of the curriculum for Protestant school inspection. To ensure greater coordination between educational levels the services of the Ministry would be divided along vertical rather than horizontal lines--among a Division of Instruction, a Division of Administration and a Division of Planning, each concerned with primary, secondary, technical, adult, and teacher education.¹⁹⁶

The Superior Council of Education would consist of sixteen members appointed by the government for limited terms. It would be comprehensive in its membership, including "persons of both languages and both religious groups, men and women, laymen, parents and clergymen, teachers or school administrators, people versed in the requirements of labour and industry, and one or two individuals not members of the predominant religious groups."¹⁹⁷ The Superior Council would

¹⁹⁶ Loc. cit., pp. 89 - 104. A consideration of university education, as well as of curriculum and educational finance, was postponed to later sections of the report.

¹⁹⁷ Loc. cit., p. 112.

be assisted and advised by two confessional committees and three educational commissions. The committees, consisting of religious authorities, parents, and educators, would draw up regulations for religious instruction and moral formation in Catholic and Protestant schools. The commissions would give expert advice on matters affecting general, technical, and higher education.¹⁹⁸ In this way it was hoped that the Superior Council of Education would be a representative but compact intermediary body which would be rooted in the environment, yet able to speak on any subject relating to education at all levels and in all sections of the educational system.

"Bill 60"

In June 1963, soon after the publication of the first section of the Parent Commission's report, Premier Lesage introduced in the legislature a bill which became celebrated as "Bill 60." This bill projected the institution of a Ministry of Education and Youth and of a Superior Council of Education along the lines recommended by the Parent Commission. Of the thirty-three recommendations of the Commission, twenty-three were incorporated in Bill 60 in unchanged or only slightly modified form. The rest could easily be implemented later by simple administrative decisions.

The new Ministry, the title of which was slightly different from that in the report of the Parent Commission, would combine the Ministry of Youth and the Department of Education under a Minister of Education and Youth.¹⁹⁹ The Minister would be responsible for all

¹⁹⁸ Loc. cit., pp. 115 - 116.

¹⁹⁹ Louis-Philippe Audet, Histoire du Conseil de l'instruction publique (Montréal, Éditions Leméac, 1964), p. 221.

education which had been under the jurisdiction of these departments of government. However, schools which were under the jurisdiction of other ministers would not, as envisaged by the Parent Commission, be transferred to the new Minister.²⁰⁰ Advising the Minister would be a Superior Council of Education on which Catholics, Protestants and non-Christians would be represented.²⁰¹ The Superior Council would be assisted by confessional committees and advisory commissions.²⁰² The Minister of Education and Youth was required to submit regulations to the Superior Council for examination. The Superior Council was required to advise him on these regulations and also on any other matter submitted to it by the Minister. It might also receive and consider requests and suggestions from the public on matters related to education.²⁰³

The publication of the first section of the report of the Parent Commission had been favorably received by the public in general. The Assembly of Bishops, after a meeting in June 1961, issued a brief statement in which the bishops expressed satisfaction with the heightened interest shown by the public in the progress of education. They reminded Catholics, however, of the mutual rights of parents, Church and State in matters of education, of the continuing necessity for confessional schools, and of the right of private schools to equitable support without interference with their peculiar character.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁰Ibid., p. 221

²⁰¹Ibid., p. 222.

²⁰²Loc. cit.

²⁰³Loc. cit., p. 223.

²⁰⁴Le Devoir, June 18, 1963, p. 11.

The presentation of Bill 60 to the Legislative Assembly near the end of the session, however, provoked a strong reaction. The Federation of Classical Colleges, representing the clerical superiors of the classical colleges of the province, protested that the move was too precipitate and that the bill should not be debated before interested parties had an opportunity of giving it serious study.²⁰⁵ Daniel Johnson, leader of the Union Nationale Opposition Party, also attacked the government for the hasty introduction of the bill which he saw as "a blow to democracy,"²⁰⁶ while Gerard Martineau, another prominent member of the Union Nationale, denounced the government for going "too far, too fast" in education.²⁰⁷ In face of this opposition, the government decided to postpone action on the bill until the following legislative session.

During the months which followed, the Minister of Youth travelled throughout the province addressing meetings and presenting arguments in favour of Bill 60. He drew attention to the profound changes which had occurred in the province since the education system had its origin. Society no longer consisted mainly of agricultural workers, or even of industrial workers, but of workers in the tertiary sector of the economy. In such a society there was no room for ignorance, or for an educational system which had developed into a jungle to impede educational progress.²⁰⁸ In the nineteenth century it was accepted that

²⁰⁵ Le Devoir, June 29, 1963, p. 3.

²⁰⁶ Le Devoir, June 29, 1963, p. 1.

²⁰⁷ Le Devoir, July 7, 1963, p. 6.

²⁰⁸ Paul Gérin-Lajoie, Pourquoi le Bill 60, pp. 28 - 30.

education other than elementary was for the upper classes, and that, with the exception of a few gifted children who might receive assistance, the mass of the population was intellectually incapable of comprehending higher studies.²⁰⁹ All this had changed. Nowadays a nation which did not provide equal opportunity for all its children, no matter what their language, religion, sex, or social station, was considered fundamentally unjust.²¹⁰ Moreover, a society which reserved for its elites the direction of its educational system, also reserved for them its profit, and had no place in the democratic order.²¹¹ Education had now become our daily bread and must be provided for all.²¹² The Minister referred to research conducted at the University of Chicago which demonstrated that education was one of the most productive of possible investments.²¹³ Considering that education was the motor of economic progress, any parsimony in this area could only lead to ruin.²¹⁴ Only through a Minister of Education responsible to the people and employing the powers of the government could the orderly and effective development of education be assured.²¹⁵ In his book in which he summed up these arguments, the Minister concluded:

Our salvation, our progress, our épanouissement, must be the result of a collective effort or not at all. There can be no fruitful economic emancipation, no political advancement, no cultural progress without an educational system which is powerful, organic, dynamic, integrated in French Canadian society, providing that

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 38.

²¹⁰ Ibid., p. 39.

²¹¹ Ibid., p. 40.

²¹² Ibid., p. 33.

²¹³ Ibid., p. 34.

²¹⁴ Loc. cit.

²¹⁵ Loc. cit., pp. 64 - 66.

society with a new stimulus and receiving from it firm support. To those who say that we are going too fast, and attempting to do all things at once, I reply that we have to overcome fifty years of backwardness, and that there are, in the history of peoples, times when everything must be done at once. . . .²¹⁶

²¹⁶ Loc. cit., p. 140. Bill 60 was subsequently modified in details but remained essentially unchanged. Early in 1964 it was passed by the Legislature and became law. The Council of Public Instruction with its Committees and the Department of Education were replaced by a Ministry of Education and an advisory Superior Council of Education.

CHAPTER VI

DEVELOPMENTS IN IRISH SECONDARY EDUCATION, 1953 - 1963

Developments in Irish secondary education between 1953 and 1963 did not include any major changes of a concrete nature in the organization and administration of education, in curriculum or in teacher-training arrangements. On the other hand, towards the end of the decade there was clear evidence of a change of attitude on the part of the State away from its earlier laissez-faire orientation towards a desire and intention to more actively promote the expansion of educational opportunity at the secondary level. This changed attitude on the part of the State appeared to stem more from economic expediency than from any profound social conviction, or from any pronounced commitment or concern on the part of the general public. Outside government circles there was evidence of considerable ambivalence and lack of consensus on the desirability of making education at the secondary level more accessible to all.

Changes of a Concrete Nature in Irish Secondary Education

In the organization and administration of secondary education the only development of significance was the almost complete but unobtrusive withdrawal of the State from the one area of secondary education in which it had established itself institutionally--the preparatory colleges.

In 1961 it withdrew its support from all but the Protestant college. Most of the others were taken over as regular grammar schools by the religious orders which had previously operated them. No official reason was given for this withdrawal, which went unmentioned even in the annual report of the Department of Education. It was probably the result of several pressures. Firstly, the Irish National Teachers' Organization, to which almost all primary teachers belonged, had never favored the preparatory colleges, since it maintained that it was not beneficial to the standards of the profession that student-teachers be required to choose a teaching career at only fourteen years and then be isolated in a remote preparatory college during adolescence. Secondly, the colleges had proved to be expensive to maintain--during the 1960 - 1961 school year the education of a student in a preparatory college had cost the State four times as much as the education of a student in a grammar school.¹

In the arrangements for the financing of education an important development was the payment by the State for the first time, in 1961, of substantial grants towards the cost of scholarships awarded by local municipal authorities. This resulted in an increase in the number and value of scholarships available for post-primary education. By 1963, over 7,000 students were competing for approximately 2,000 scholarships ranging in value from 45 dollars to 300 dollars.² While this

¹Ireland, Department of Education, Report, 1962 - 1963 (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1964), p. 89.

²Ibid., pp. 127 - 129.

represented a considerable improvement over the situation which had prevailed in 1953, the number of scholarships was still quite small in relation to the 84,916 students enrolled in grammar schools in 1963.

This increase in the number of scholarships came soon after the report of the Council of Education on the curriculum of the secondary school, which had criticized the inadequacy of the system of scholarships.

The only changes in the programme of studies and examinations were the introduction of Hebrew as an elective subject in 1957, and the requirement that all candidates for the Leaving Certificate pass an examination in oral Irish.

There were no changes in the arrangements for the training of teachers.

An important quantitative rather than qualitative change during the decade was the steady increase in secondary enrolments. This increase was not only in absolute terms, but also in terms of the proportion of those in the national population group from ten to nineteen years of age. Numbers in secondary schools increased by 52.2 per cent-- from 60,271 in 1953³ to 91,755 in 1963.⁴ This represented an increase from 11.6 per cent of those from ten to nineteen years in 1953,⁵ to 16.8 per cent of the corresponding age group in 1963.⁶ The expansion of enrolments was most marked in the grammar schools, where student

³Ireland, Department of Education, Report, 1953 - 1954, (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1956), pp. 74, 80, 88.

⁴Ireland, Department of Education, Report, 1962 - 1963, pp. 89, 119, 127.

⁵Ireland, Central Statistics Office, Statistical Abstract of Ireland, 1964 (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1965), p. 27.

⁶Loc. cit.

numbers rose by 57.2 per cent--from 54,020 in 1953⁷ to 84,916 in 1963.⁸ Numbers in "secondary tops" increased by only 18.2 per cent--from 5744 in 1953⁹ to 6789 in 1963¹⁰--while those in preparatory colleges dropped from 507 in 1953¹¹ to only 50 in 1963.¹² This expansion of enrolments in grammar schools was not accompanied by a proportionate increase in the number of grammar schools. These increased by only 24.6 per cent--from 447 in 1953¹³ to 557 in 1963.¹⁴ Since school transportation was not provided in Ireland, this meant that facilities for the satisfaction of what appeared to be an increased demand for secondary education remained highly localized. Children in many parts of the country still had to go without.

Expressions of an Unfavourable Attitude towards a General Expansion of Secondary Education

A conservative attitude towards a widespread provision of secondary education was expressed by some prominent spokesmen during the decade under consideration.

p. 80. ⁷Ireland, Department of Education, Report, 1953 - 1954,

p. 119. ⁸Ireland, Department of Education, Report, 1962 - 1963,

p. 88. ⁹Ireland, Department of Education, Report, 1953 - 1954,

p. 127. ¹⁰Ireland, Department of Education, Report, 1962 - 1963,

p. 74. ¹¹Ireland, Department of Education, Report, 1953 - 1954,

p. 89. ¹²Ireland, Department of Education, Report, 1962 - 1963,

p. 80. ¹³Ireland, Department of Education, Report, 1953 - 1954,

p. 119. ¹⁴Ireland, Department of Education, Report, 1962 - 1963,

An eminent educator who held this view was Dr. Sean O Cathain, a Jesuit priest who was head of the Education Department at University College, Dublin, by far the largest of the constituent colleges of the National University of Ireland. O Cathain presented his opinions after persistent persuasion by the editor of the Jesuit quarterly, Studies, one of the most influential academic journals in Ireland. A number of articles on Irish education by O Cathain appeared in the journal between 1951 and 1957. These were published in book form in 1958.

O Cathain did not object to the organization of secondary education in Ireland--in his opinion, "thanks purely to historical development and not to the action of either British or Irish government"¹⁵ the system was a good one, since it allowed perfect freedom for the religious and moral training of the students.¹⁶ He directed his criticism at the programme of studies and the examinations in secondary schools. He deplored the elective nature of the programme as a manifestation of a pernicious philosophy which placed undue emphasis on the interests of the student and supported the principle that all subjects should be judged on their significance for modern living.¹⁷ Such a theory--expounded in particular by John Dewey and accepted by some "simple minds"¹⁸ even in Ireland--implied the avoidance of drill and drudgery, and gave students a false notion of what knowledge really was and what study really meant.¹⁹ It produced the modern sophist--glib, overconfident, with a dilettante attitude towards study which covered an

¹⁵Sean O Cathain, Secondary Education in Ireland (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1958), p. 23.

¹⁶Loc. cit.

¹⁷Loc. cit., p. 36.

¹⁸Loc. cit., p. 29.

¹⁹Loc. cit., p. 36.

abysmal ignorance²⁰ --and led to the "lamentable moral situation" in which American education now found itself.²¹ Yet simple souls were to be found in the quiet backwaters of Irish school life who were now beginning to proclaim that education must be brought up to date in order to fit the student for a place in a scientific, mathematical, and social-minded world.²²

O Cathain would not discuss "the wide and very complicated question of 'free education for all', "²³ but his subsequent statements made it clear that he was opposed to the principle. He opposed any attempt to make secondary education compulsory on the grounds that it would not only interfere with the rights of parents but would also deprive schools of their right to select and reject students and would thus lead to a lowering of academic standards.²⁴ He viewed the increasing enrolments in secondary schools as a menace in this respect.²⁵ He objected to the relatively open admission policies of grammar schools which admitted children of widely different abilities yet provided them with a programme of studies which assumed that all had a special aptitude for languages, mathematics and history.²⁶ Instead of welcoming all students, O Cathain proposed that schools impose far more rigorous selection procedures. Entrance requirements would include a favourable report from the principal of a student's primary school, a satisfactory intelligence quotient, and a pass in an entrance examination.²⁷ Those who

²⁰Loc. cit.

²²Loc. cit., p. 29.

²⁴Loc. cit., p. 48.

²⁶Loc. cit., p. 42.

²¹Loc. cit., p. 30.

²³Loc. cit., p. 12.

²⁵Loc. cit., p. 43.

²⁷Loc. cit., p. 49.

failed the entrance examination might try again, but only once. A second failure would result in a student's being discarded as unfit for secondary education.²⁸ Those who entered secondary school would undergo observation for one year, after which a student might be discarded or else directed to one of several different courses of study suited to his aptitudes, though not necessarily to his "notoriously fleeting and arbitrary" interests.²⁹ At the junior level which followed there would be a leaning towards the humanities rather than the sciences. Honours students in particular would follow the traditional linguistic curriculum, choosing four languages, including a classical one. At the senior level there would be increasing specialization with a view to a career.³⁰ The State should withdraw from the regulation of education and the conduct of examinations. Examinations would be set by individual schools which would also issue certificates and student reports.³¹ Each school would in turn be rated by the general public on the standard of its products.³²

Although O Cathain's propositions might seem somewhat extreme, and perhaps outmoded, to an outside observer of Irish education, his general principles were not without influential support within the country. This was evident in the report on the curriculum of secondary schools prepared by the Council of Education and presented to the government in 1960 after five years of study.

²⁸Loc. cit., p. 50.

²⁹Loc. cit., p. 53.

³⁰Loc. cit., p. 51.

³¹Loc. cit., pp. 69 - 70.

³²Loc. cit., p. 73.

The Council of Education felt itself to be excluded by its terms of reference from a comprehensive discussion of secondary education in Ireland.³³ However, on the question of free education for all it felt obliged to express its views strongly and unequivocally, "especially in the view that 'secondary education for all' is often urged as a requirement of genuine democracy."³⁴ It condemned a demand for universal and free secondary education as "untenable"³⁵ and any scheme designed to satisfy such a demand as "utopian."³⁶ The Council based its objections on economic and educational grounds. The financial burden of such a scheme would have to be borne by the State or the local authorities, or both, and the expense of maintaining students in such institutions as preparatory colleges did not warrant the hope that the State could or would be prepared to assume financial responsibility for secondary education on a national scale.³⁷ Educationally, such a scheme would be harmful since it was attested to by experience in many countries that only a minority of students could profit by secondary education. Consequently, if free secondary education were provided for all it could only lead to a lowering of academic standards, and a dilution of incentives for a student to profit by it.³⁸ The Council was satisfied that, in view of the limited resources of the country and the proven value of voluntary initiative, remarkable progress had been made by voluntary

³³Ireland, Department of Education, Report of the Council of Education: The Curriculum of the Secondary School (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1962), p. 2.

³⁴Loc. cit., p. 252.

³⁵Loc. cit.

³⁶Loc. cit.

³⁷Loc. cit.

³⁸Loc. cit.

agencies in providing secondary education.³⁹ The Council would go no further than to recommend a considerable increase in the number of scholarships awarded "for outstanding merit."⁴⁰

It might be expected, perhaps, that the eleven clergymen and religious who composed almost half of the Council would not propose changes in what, from a confessional viewpoint, was a satisfactory educational system. The views expressed on free secondary education were however supported by almost all members of the Council, which included lay educators, economists, and representatives of labour. The one dissenter, Father P. E. MacFhinn, a lecturer in education at University College, Galway, objected to the statements of the rest of the Council only on the grounds that the matter was outside the terms of reference and should not have been discussed at all.⁴¹

Expressions of a Favourable Attitude towards a General Expansion of Secondary Education

While conservative opinion on the general expansion of secondary education was expressed by Dr. O Cathain and the Irish Council of Education, this was not the only opinion held on the matter.

A Commission to study the problem of emigration was appointed in 1949, and presented its report to the Irish government in 1954. Although many of the briefs submitted to the Commission referred to education, the majority of its members felt that an examination of the Irish educational system did not come within their terms of reference and that in any case they were not competent to make either a general

³⁹Loc. cit.

⁴⁰Loc. cit., p. 254.

⁴¹Loc. cit., p. 410.

or particular pronouncement on the subject.⁴² One of the commissioners, Father Thomas Counihan, dismissed these objections on the grounds that a discussion of education was not irrelevant to a study of emigration, and that, moreover, since over half of the commissioners were intimately connected with education they were in an excellent position to make an informed statement.⁴³ Father Counihan went on to assert that since the country was unable to provide employment for its population it had a duty to fortify young emigrants with a sound education.⁴⁴ In order to counter-act the sense of apathy and frustration engendered in the two-thirds of primary school graduates who sought no further education, the school leaving age should be raised to sixteen or even seventeen years, regardless of the expense involved.⁴⁵ To provide these children with an education more suited to their interests and future careers, the primarily academic programme of the secondary schools must be more practically-oriented.⁴⁶ As matters stood the advance of the nation was being retarded.⁴⁷ Emigration would continue until a considerable expansion of employment opportunity occurred in Ireland. To bring this about the economy would have to be directed along sound lines by men of ability and integrity, talented administrators and skilled executives. For this the very best of education was imperative.⁴⁸

⁴²Ireland, Commission on Emigration and other Population Problems, Reports (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1955), p. 177.

⁴³Ibid., p. 191.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 197.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 192.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 194.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 197.

⁴⁸Loc. cit.

Father Counihan's recommendation that the period of general education be extended was echoed by another commissioner, Ruaidhri Roberts, who felt that such an extension together with a revision of the educational system would have an important influence on the minds of young people and help solve many demographic and economic problems.⁴⁹ Roberts was of the opinion that the strongly marked class distinctions which he saw in education aroused justifiable resentment in young people, and considered that "the sincerity of such authorities as may be concerned with the education of children will in a large measure be judged by the efforts made to provide all classes with satisfactory educational opportunities."⁵⁰

One of the most significant, and certainly the most forceful, expression of views in favour of the expansion of secondary education appeared in a publication of the Federation of Irish Secondary Schools in 1962. The Federation, which represented fifty lay Catholic secondary schools, emphasized in its study and supported with statistics and comparisons the assertion that the expansion of secondary education was imperative not only in the interests of social justice but in the interests of national economic survival. The study adverted to the considerable reservoir of human talent and intellectual ability which was still untapped by secondary education in Ireland.⁵¹ It cited the report of the Swedish

⁴⁹Loc. cit., p. 254.

⁵⁰Loc. cit.

⁵¹The Federation of Irish Secondary Schools, Investment in Education in the Republic of Ireland (Dublin: The Federation of Irish Secondary Schools, 1962), p. 4.

economist, Dr. Ingvar Svennilson, made to the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development as a rebuttal of the traditional objection that the diffusion of secondary education necessarily resulted in inferior academic standards.⁵² The study noted that whereas once the neglect of such a reserve of human ability through lack of education was considered an individual, personal loss, it was now generally accepted that under modern conditions such a loss was detrimental to society as a whole.⁵³ Economists now recognized that education was an essential stimulant and fertilizer of economic growth. Accordingly, in Europe an appropriate education for all citizens had become an important aim of national planning and policy.⁵⁴ In view of Ireland's impending entry into the European Economic Community, where it would be faced with intense competition from industries using new techniques and scientific processes, there were compelling reasons why Ireland should expand its educational facilities at the secondary school level as a prerequisite for any improvement in the technical and technological fields.⁵⁵

A considerable part of the Federation's study was concerned with an evaluation of Irish post-primary and higher education within a general European and world context. An analysis and comparison of data led to the conclusions that in Ireland there were serious inadequacies in the provision and distribution of post-primary education; in the public support of secondary education; in the academic achievement of Irish secondary school students, especially in mathematics, science, and languages; and in the quality of the teaching force which, the authors

⁵²Ibid., p. 5.

⁵⁴Loc. cit.

⁵³Loc. cit., p. 1.

⁵⁵Loc. cit., p. 3.

of the study maintained, would remain inferior as long as there were no facilities or encouragement of post-graduate work either before or during a teaching career.⁵⁶

The study condemned a complacency and cynicism which had resulted in educational inertia and stagnation, and deplored as a symptom of this moribund state of Irish education, the official practice of formulating educational policy on the basis of dilatory ad hoc commissions and utterly inadequate and imprecise educational statistics.⁵⁷ It emphasized the need for a permanent body, which would include an economist and a statistician as well as educationists, to supply educational policy-makers with pertinent information based on sound educational research.⁵⁸

In 1963 the Federation of Secondary Schools published a supplement to its study of 1962. This supplement contained an educational map illustrating the distribution of post-primary education among the various counties of Ireland. On the basis of statistics used to prepare this map the Federation concluded that there were grave inequalities of educational opportunity within the Republic of Ireland.⁵⁹ It observed that voluntary bodies were doing their utmost to relieve this situation but were hampered by the inadequate financial support afforded by the State for secondary education.⁶⁰ The Federation produced a number of

⁵⁶Loc. cit., pp. 8 - 12.

⁵⁷Loc. cit., p. 7.

⁵⁸Loc. cit.

⁵⁹The Federation of Irish Secondary Schools, Supplement to Investment in Education in the Republic of Ireland, with Some Comparative Statistics (Dublin: The Federation of Irish Secondary Schools, 1963), p. ii.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. iii.

tables comparing the extent of government support of secondary education in the Republic of Ireland, Northern Ireland, Scotland, and England and Wales. The Federation concluded: "We have no hesitation in maintaining on these figures that our present investment in education in the Republic of Ireland is inadequate."⁶¹

Government Interest in the Expansion of Educational Opportunity

During the last years of the decade under study the Irish government became increasingly preoccupied with the improvement of educational facilities in the country. The government was determined that the remarkable economic progress made in Ireland after 1958 should be maintained, and it was felt that an expansion and more rational use of educational services would contribute to this. This new orientation towards education as social investment rather than social consumption reflected the interest shown by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development--of which Ireland was a member--in the role of education as a factor of economic development. The willingness of the Irish government to undertake an examination of Irish education was stimulated by the Organization's offer of assistance to member-states that wished to assess and improve their educational systems. The Irish government availed itself of this assistance to conduct a general survey of Irish education designed to supply information upon which subsequent decisions and policies might be based,⁶² and also to conduct a more

⁶¹Ibid., p. vii.

⁶²Ireland, Investment in Education: Report of the Survey Team Appointed by the Minister of Education in October, 1962 (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1965), p. xxiii.

limited survey of Irish technical education with a view to assessing its adequacy in the light of economic development.⁶³

The general survey of Irish education was initiated in October 1962 by the Irish Minister of Education, and was organized in cooperation with the O. E. C. D. as a project under that organization's Educational Investment and Planning Programme. The O. E. C. D. contributed financial and technical assistance to the survey.⁶⁴ The terms of reference of the survey indicated the interest of the Irish government in the long-range planning of Irish education in order to meet future manpower requirements. The survey team--consisting of two economists, a statistician, and a secondary school inspector--was required under the terms of reference to prepare an inventory of education in relation to skilled manpower; to frame educational targets to meet estimated needs for skilled manpower over the following ten to fifteen years; to assess future demands on educational facilities at different levels and the expenditure required to meet these demands; to consider arrangements for the collection of statistics which would facilitate a continuing review of educational needs and resources; and to consider ways in which Ireland could render educational assistance to emergent countries.⁶⁵

Although the Irish government was clearly concerned with the preparation of skilled manpower, it was not exclusively interested

⁶³O. E. C. D. , Training of Technicians in Ireland (Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1964), p. 81.

⁶⁴Ireland, Investment in Education . . ., p. ii.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. xxix.

in the promotion of technical education as a means to this end. It favoured a more comprehensive approach to post-primary education, which would integrate to some extent the traditionally separate spheres of academic and vocational education. This was made clear in a statement made by Dr. P. J. Hillery, the Irish Minister of Education, in January 1963, to the members of the O.E.C.D. team which had concluded a survey of Irish technical education. Dr. Hillery stated:

It is our government's policy to make a substantial investment in education. We view education broadly--as encompassing not only vocational but cultural, humanistic, and moral matters. While the present discussion is, of course, concerned with technical education, we must bear in mind that it is not possible to separate this particular type of education from our conception of what a complete education should be. I should like to assure the Committee that we are not dealing with a static system or with a people wedded to a particular system of education. We intend to make changes. . . . ⁶⁶

This desire for a closer integration of academic and technical studies was supported by the O.E.C.D. experts who had examined the system of technical education. One of the examiners, Dr. Werner Rasmussen of Denmark, noting a lack of awareness in Ireland of the need for scientific and technical education, observed that under modern conditions everybody should have at least a minimum of technical education and that no person could consider himself truly educated without some knowledge of the scientific method and the basic achievements of science. This called for a widening of the student's horizon rather than a narrowing of it to mere technics.⁶⁷ Consequently, the O.E.C.D. examiners were not in favor of a complete post-primary system of technical education but of a regional system of comprehensive education

⁶⁶O.E.C.D., op. cit., p. 102. ⁶⁷Ibid., p. 100.

similar to that of Sweden and the Soviet Union, which might provide the first steps of a ladder to higher technical education.⁶⁸ Dr. Rasmussen explained:

To meet the demands of a changing world, it might be desirable to keep children together in one educational system for eight or nine years so as to give all of them a better grasp of scientific and technical subjects--though not with the intention of turning them all into technicians. On the one hand it would give them a better understanding of technical and industrial developments and, thus, a clearer view of employment opportunities. On the other hand, it would provide a sound basis for further technical education if they should decide to follow a technical career.⁶⁹

It was felt that a regional distribution of educational investment along these lines might be the means not only for responding to a local demand but for stimulating the process of development.⁷⁰

That there was some ambivalence towards the desirability of expanding training facilities was sensed by the O.E.C.D. team. The team observed that although it was felt in Ireland that such an expansion might encourage emigration and thus contribute to the development of countries other than Ireland.⁷¹ Although the Minister of Education firmly denied that his government would restrict educational services on that account,⁷² he did admit that uncertainty about the future inevitably influenced educational policy. Dr. Hillery stated:

We are very conscious, in Ireland, of living in rapidly changing times. We intend to make whatever changes we think necessary and feasible to meet our present and probable needs. Unfortunately, but inevitably, our position is rather like that of someone who is making an immense effort to create something with the materials at hand without being quite able to calculate

⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 106 - 107.

⁶⁹Loc. cit.

⁷⁰Loc. cit.

⁷¹Loc. cit., p. 100.

⁷²Loc. cit., p. 110.

what the final effect of his efforts should be--or to what extent it will be influenced by events not under his control.⁷³

Nevertheless, the Minister felt that the information gleaned by the team conducting a general survey of Irish educational needs and resources would make educational planning possible, and reduce this uncertainty.⁷⁴

Four months later, in May 1963, the Irish Minister of Education outlined a plan for the expansion of post-primary education. In two major respects the scheme represented a departure from tradition --first, it provided for the teaching of technical and academic subjects in the same institution, whereas these had previously been taught in separate institutions, and second, it envisaged a collaboration between the State and local public authorities in providing secondary education, which had previously been given almost entirely in private schools.

In his public statement announcing the new plan, the Minister, while noting the increasing enrolments in secondary schools, pointed to what he considered two major weaknesses in the provision of post-primary education. The first was that there were still areas of the country which had neither a secondary nor a vocational school within easy reach of pupils and where, under the existing system, there was unlikely to be one for some time to come.⁷⁵ The second weakness was that secondary and vocational schools were being conducted as separate entities with no communication between them.⁷⁶ The Minister considered

⁷³Loc. cit., p. 102.

⁷⁴Loc. cit.

⁷⁵Ireland, Department of Education, "Statement by Dr. P. J. Hillery, T. D., Minister of Education, in regard to Post-Primary Education," May 20, 1963, p. 5 (Mimeographed.)

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 6.

that the first weakness constituted an injustice by denying to some people that equality of opportunity for post-primary education which the State felt should be made available to all in some measure.⁷⁷ The second weakness, linked with the haphazard way in which students found themselves in either a secondary or a vocational school, resulted in children who would derive more benefit from academic studies being found in vocational schools and those who would profit more by practical studies being found in secondary schools.⁷⁸

To eliminate these weaknesses, the Minister planned to introduce in educationally deprived areas a new type of educational institution which would offer a comprehensive programme of academic and vocational instruction. This would be a day school which would provide a three-year post-primary course leading to the Intermediate Certificate.⁷⁹ To provide the minimum enrolment of 150 students which it was considered necessary for a diversified programme, students would be transported to school from within a radius of ten miles.⁸⁰

The programme of these comprehensive schools would contain a core of Irish, English, Mathematics, Religious Instruction, and one practical subject, as well as a number of elective subjects of academic or practical content.⁸¹

Throughout the three-year course, but particularly in the first year, students would be observed carefully, and guided towards

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 5.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 6.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 8.

⁸⁰Loc. cit.

⁸¹Loc. cit., p. 9.

that type of subject for which they appeared to have an aptitude.⁸² This would result in a progressive polarization of students into either an academic or a technical group. Both groups would sit for the Intermediate Certificate examination, the programme of which would in future provide more practical subjects. Pupils who failed in this examination would terminate their studies, while average students of practical bent who had passed might become apprentices or enter technical schools.⁸³ The more brilliant students of practical bent would enter new regional Colleges of Technology which would be erected for them and for other students of their calibre who had graduated from regular vocational schools.⁸⁴ In the Colleges of Technology students would prepare for a new Technical Leaving Certificate examination at the end of the two-year course.⁸⁵ Students of academic bent who had passed the Intermediate Examination would be provided with scholarships to help them continue their studies in the higher grades of a grammar school.⁸⁶

The State would assume in full the cost of erecting the new comprehensive schools, and of paying the teachers in them.⁸⁷ Current expenses would be met from three sources--State grants, local taxation, and students' fees.⁸⁸ In addition to tuition fees--which might be reduced in cases of hardship--students would be required to contribute towards the cost of school transportation.⁸⁹

⁸²Loc. cit.

⁸³Loc. cit., pp. 10 - 11.

⁸⁴Loc. cit., p. 13.

⁸⁵Loc. cit., p. 12.

⁸⁶Loc. cit., p. 11.

⁸⁷Loc. cit., p. 10.

⁸⁸Loc. cit.

⁸⁹Loc. cit., p. 8.

The Minister saw several advantages in the scheme--it would provide equality of educational opportunity, it would ensure through its examinations, a common standard of work in post-primary schools, it would improve coordination within the educational system, and it would give the country a systematic supply of adequately trained technicians.⁹⁰

The Minister stated that he had already consulted the Catholic hierarchy on the management of these schools, and was satisfied that in the case of each school it would be possible "to constitute a committee of management which will be acceptable to all the interested parties."⁹¹

In the scheme might be discerned a number of elements which figured in earlier statements on Irish secondary education--O Cathain's observation year, the elimination of those who failed, and streaming on the basis of aptitude rather than interest; the Council of Education's insistence on tuition fees, and the maintenance of academic standards by giving free tuition only to scholarship holders; Counihan's widening of the academic school programme by including some practical subjects to provide better training for young emigrants who came mainly from those areas in which the comprehensive schools would operate; the tapping of the reservoir of human abilities advocated by the Federation of Irish Secondary Schools; and the provision of a comprehensive rather than a dual system of post-primary education to the ninth year as advocated by the O. E. C. D. survey team on technical education. Thus the scheme appeared to hold something for everybody--although the Minister's claim that it established equality of educational opportunity

⁹⁰Loc. cit., pp. 13 - 14.

⁹¹Loc. cit., p. 9.

seemed rather fulsome in view of the fact that, in the interests of the national economy, the educationally and economically deprived of the remoter areas were required in addition to school taxes to pay for transportation as well as tuition and textbooks in order to avail of educational facilities which their more prosperous neighbours in the towns could enjoy for a fraction of the cost and effort.

CHAPTER VII

ASSESSMENT

In Quebec and Ireland during the period under study there was evidence of a growing inclination on the part of the State to become more actively participant in secondary education, which had traditionally been almost a preserve of the Catholic Church. Although some of the factors which contributed to this augmented interest on the part of the State appeared to be common to both regions, there were, nevertheless, important contextual differences of a social and economic nature between Quebec and Ireland which affected the nature and urgency of the forces for change operative in each region.

A characteristic of secondary education in both Quebec and Ireland was the influence which historical developments had conferred upon the Catholic Church. In its nature and extent, this influence was quite different in both regions. In Quebec the authority of the Church in secondary education was more pervasive, more obvious, and less responsible to the body politic than it was in Ireland. The Catholic episcopacy of Quebec dominated the central authority which regulated in detail the conduct and content of education in all Catholic public secondary schools and teacher-training institutions, as well as in the certification and disciplining of teachers and the distribution of government grants among Catholic secondary schools both public and private.

In addition, the Catholic bishops, through their control of the French-language universities--the only universities available to most of the population--regulated the entrance requirements of these institutions. They also exercised complete control over the classical colleges, which were virtually the only means of access to most of the faculties and schools of the French-language universities. In Quebec, therefore, the authority of the Church was paramount at the level of central policy-making and administration, and at the institutional level. The participation of the State and local education authorities was almost exclusively confined in the case of the State to the collection of provincial taxes for education, and in the case of the local authorities to the collection of local taxes for public education, the provision of facilities for public education, and the appointment of certificated teachers in public schools. In Ireland, direct Church influence was exerted only at the institutional level. Almost all secondary schools were owned by Catholic religious orders and clergy, who also controlled the appointment and tenure of teachers in their schools. The central policy-making and administrative authority was, however, in the hands of the State, which as a condition of the payment of substantial government grants towards the current expenses of secondary schools, imposed regulations affecting the qualifications of teachers and the general content of education offered in these schools. Consequently, the State was in a position to exercise more influence on secondary education in Ireland than in Quebec. In the sphere of secondary education, the principle of responsible government, whereby the government exercises a control for which it can be held responsible, found expression in Ireland, but was, in fact, ignored in Quebec.

During the 1953 - 1963 period the financial support accorded by the State to secondary education in Quebec and Ireland was considerably augmented. This development had the natural consequence of making economy-minded politicians, who served a tax-conscious electorate, increasingly concerned with such matters as government responsibility and with the equitable distribution and efficient use of public funds in education.

The increase in government financial support of secondary education was partly the result of a steady and rapid increase in secondary school enrolments in Quebec and Ireland. This reflected an increasing population in the secondary-school age-groups, and also what appeared to be a general and world-wide aspiration towards higher levels of educational attainment. It would, however, be inaccurate for the later years of the 1953 - 1963 period to represent this financial support as being wrung from the unwilling public exchequers of Quebec and Ireland by a host of secondary school students intent on promoting their own private educational and economic interests at public expense. For the last five years of the decade there was evidence of an important change which resulted in a more positive attitude on the part of the governments of Quebec and Ireland towards the expansion of secondary education, and an increased willingness on their part to direct public funds to that end. This change of attitude was promoted by the official acceptance of the principle that education was a worthwhile investment for the polity as a whole. Education was a necessary factor in national economic progress, and as such must be considered primarily an item of public investment rather than of private consumption. A commodity so essential to the national welfare must be supplied where necessary at public

expense and under public supervision and accountability. It could no longer be left entirely to the hazards of the market as a somewhat luxurious item to be supplied by autonomous bodies to those who could afford it. In Quebec the promotion of secondary education was seen not only as a means of reducing unemployment by raising the educational level of the labour force to the level required in service occupations, but also as a way of elevating the generally inferior social and economic status of the French-speaking population relative to that of the English-speaking population in the province, with the ultimate object of expanding French-Canadian influence in Quebec and in Canada as a whole. In Ireland the diffusion of secondary education was considered necessary for that rapid growth of the national economy required to curb and reduce emigration, the country's most pressing problem. Ireland's impending entry into the European Economic Community, with all the intense economic competition implicit in this move, lent a sense of urgency to the government's efforts to strengthen the economy through the promotion of education.

The increase in government expenditure on education, coupled with a changed outlook on the part of the State towards the value of a higher level of education for the population as a whole, contributed to the introduction or projection of significant modifications in secondary education in Quebec and Ireland. These modifications were designed to eliminate waste and to increase educational efficiency.

A determination to rationalize the allocation and use of resources in education led to demands in Quebec and Ireland for more complete and precise educational statistics and for long-term educational planning based on adequate information. What was perceived as a less rigorous and more complacent attitude towards educational

development in the past--manifest in a "muddling through" on the basis of day-to-day decisions, ad hoc investigations, and inadequate statistics --was criticized in the educational appendix of the report of the Tremblay Commission and in the studies of the Irish Federation of Secondary Schools. Attempts were subsequently made to remedy this--in Quebec by the incorporation of a Division of Planning in the structure of the proposed Ministry of Education, and in Ireland by the constitution of a team of experts to conduct a thorough analysis of Irish educational needs and resources and to propose arrangements for the continuing surveillance of relevant trends. This more rational approach to the administration of education was also evident in Quebec in the introduction of comprehensive statutory norms for the distribution of public funds among educational authorities and institutions. This minimized the discretionary element which had been significant in educational financing before 1960.

The desirability of making more efficient use of all human resources was stressed in the appendix to the Tremblay Commission report and in the publications of the Irish Federation of Secondary Schools. The waste of talent due to the inequitable distribution of educational opportunity in Quebec and Ireland was documented and deplored. Steps were later taken by the State to extend educational opportunity in Quebec by providing free public secondary education for all, by assisting students who preferred to attend private institutions, by promoting regional school boards in rural areas, by raising the school-leaving age, and by providing allowances for students who wished to continue their studies beyond this age. In Ireland the government announced its intention of expanding educational opportunity by means of comprehensive

schools in areas where post-primary education was not already available.

Efforts to encourage students to pursue their studies to the extent of their abilities were also evident in curriculum changes which were effected or planned. In Quebec, deficiencies inherent in courses of study which were of a terminal nature, in constant and uncoordinated flux, and of little value to those who completed them, were criticized in the report of the Sub-Committee for Coordination and in the publications of Brother Pierre-Jérôme and Gérard Filion. The new programme of studies introduced in Quebec public secondary schools attempted a greater coordination of curriculum content and study courses, and the introduction of classical sections in public schools facilitated somewhat the access of public school students to university. In Ireland, the validity of the criticism directed at the secondary school curriculum in the report of the Commission on Emigration was acknowledged by the Minister of Education when he proposed to diversify the content of secondary education in the junior cycle by the addition of subjects which would be less academic in content and consequently, it was claimed, prove more attractive to children of more practical aptitude.

A teaching force of the best quality is required to obtain the highest returns on public investment in education. The competence of Quebec teachers as a whole was impugned in the educational appendix of the report of the Tremblay Commission. However, courageous efforts to raise the qualifications of teachers at a time of soaring student enrolments met with considerable success, and subsequently teachers were encouraged by generous State bursaries to improve their qualifications by undertaking university studies at the graduate and post-graduate levels.

In Ireland although some criticism was directed at the qualifications of secondary teachers by the Irish Federation of Secondary Teachers, no significant measures were officially taken to meet this criticism.

Although important changes were introduced or planned in the educational systems of Quebec and Ireland during the 1953 - 1963 period, the pace and significance of reform were much greater in Quebec than in Ireland. The causes of social change are difficult to identify with any degree of certainty and to attempt to account for differences in the velocity and extent of change in different societies is probably an even more hazardous undertaking. However, in connection with differences in the reform of secondary education in Quebec and Ireland it may not be without some value to attempt to identify possible reasons which appear to have the support of available evidence.

In Quebec at the beginning of the period under study the system of secondary education appeared to be far more out of tune with the requirements of society than did the corresponding system in Ireland. Neither system had changed significantly since the late nineteenth century yet in the interval the societies in which these systems were incorporated had undergone considerable change. This change was particularly marked in Quebec where, within a century, what had been a predominantly rural and farming community progressed to the stage where the great majority of the people lived in cities and were engaged in service occupations. In Ireland this development was more tardy. Over a century the rural population dropped considerably but there was no corresponding increase in the number living in cities. The relative importance of agriculture declined during this time but manufacturing was as yet of no great moment. The Irish system of secondary education was not as ancient as

that of Quebec and consequently did not incorporate so many anomalous characteristics preserved by the force of tradition and vested interest. What lack of coordination and direct government responsibility as characterized the system under British rule was removed by the centralization measures enforced by the Irish government soon after independence was achieved. Moreover, an educational structure such as that of Quebec, which still embodied an eighteenth-century concept of equipping professional and ecclesiastical elites for leadership in a peasant society, was a conspicuous anachronism in the social environment of a highly urban and technologically advanced region of democratic North America. Such a contrast was not equally pronounced in the context of Irish society, which was still largely constituted of small farmers, petty shopkeepers, minor industrialists, and clergymen whose influence had not yet been eroded by the secular values of urban life, and which was situated on the perimeter of a continent where the prerogatives of birth were still accorded some recognition. Consequently, in order to adapt it to contemporary conditions there was less obvious need for radical changes in the Irish system of secondary education than there was in that of Quebec.

The greater economic resources of Quebec, the economic implications of its population trends, and the more advanced state of its economy also facilitated the expansion of education and made it more clearly necessary. The government of Quebec derived considerable income from the exploitation of the province's natural resources, and in addition, the important industrial and commercial enterprises operating in the province provided it with a tax source of far greater potential than that available to the Irish government. In this respect, the latter

had placed itself in an even more invidious position by granting tax exemptions to foreign concerns in an attempt to attract the capital which Ireland lacked. Furthermore, while the financial base for the expansion of secondary education in Quebec was being augmented by an influx of adult and skilled immigrants, that of Ireland was being further eroded by the steady exodus of the most productive section of its population. Quebec was, in addition, at that stage of economic development where the predominance of the tertiary sector had placed a premium on advanced education, while Ireland was still at the less advanced stage where the secondary sector was only beginning to supersede the primary sector. It could scarcely be expected that a society at the latter stage of development would appreciate the need and urgency of improved secondary education to the extent of making drastic financial sacrifices to achieve it.

The more significant and rapid reform which took place in Quebec must also be attributed to a more emphatic and general commitment on the part of the community to a policy of educational expansion than was evident in the case of the Irish people. Although dissenting voices were heard, after the death of Mr. Duplessis the need for educational reform appeared to be appreciated by both political parties in Quebec. This official desire for reform was evidently supported by the most prominent Church leaders, and shared by the public in general, which showed itself appreciative of criticisms directed at the traditional educational system. Without such public support it is unlikely that the Lesage government would have committed itself to an almost complete implementation of the fundamental reforms recommended by the Parent Commission in 1963. It seems reasonable to attribute the dynamic involvement

of Quebec society in considerable measure to the charismatic nature of the challenge presented to the public in the works of Brother Pierre-Jérôme and Gérard Filion as well as in the public statements of Premier Lesage and his Minister of Education, Mr. Gérin-Lajoie. The need for educational reform was presented by these men not merely on the grounds of economic expediency but as a necessary factor in the survival and diffusion of French-Canadian influence and culture. An attempt was thus made to harness the forces of aggressive nationalism to a project for educational reform in a move towards economic and cultural aggrandizement. In Ireland, on the other hand, there was far less conviction that the expansion of educational opportunity was either necessary or desirable. The Council of Education had strongly opposed free secondary education for all, and, outside of the government, no prominent figure had expressed himself in favour of major educational reform. Even in government circles the desirability of educational expansion was expressed almost entirely in pragmatic rather than idealistic terms--as a means to higher living standards, to reduced emigration and unemployment, and to economic survival in a free trade area. The Irish people have never been noted for the attributes of "economic man," and while the objectives presented by the government were undoubtedly desirable and necessary, they scarcely possessed for such a people that visionary quality which can, for a time, transmute sacrifice into joy, and lend a sense of exaltation to mundane strivings.

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